THE ANCIENT WORLD
AND ITS LEGACY TO US

A. W. BLUNT

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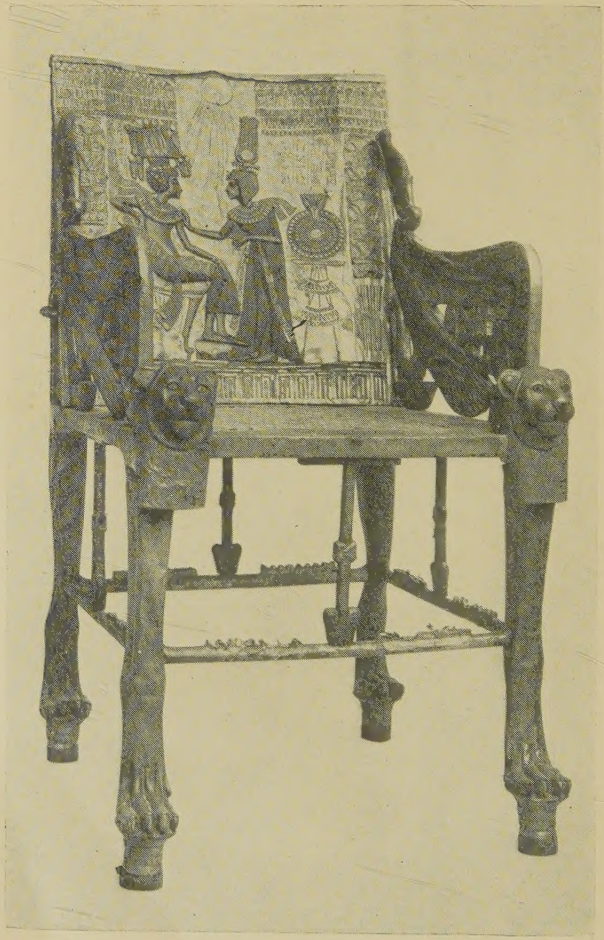

TUTANKHAMEN'S ARMCHAIR

About 1350 B.C.

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AND ITS LEGACY TO US

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book attempts to tell very simply the story of ancient times and peoples, but in such a way as, while reducing military and political details to a minimum, to set forth especially the character of those peoples, the quality of their culture, and the nature of the debt which we owe to them. It is intended particularly for those beginning their study of ancient history and for such as may wish to acquire a general acquaintance with the contributions of antiquity to civilization. I hope that, though the story is told in simple language and in broad outline, it may yet be found accurate in such details as it mentions, and well proportioned in the relative emphasis which it lays upon the several elements of the life described.

I would wish to pay a special tribute of gratitude to the writers in the volumes *The Legacy of Greece* (edited by Livingstone), *The Legacy of Rome* (edited by Bailey), to Livingstone's *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to us*, and to Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth.*

A. W. F. B.

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The *Frontispiece* is a reproduction of Tutankhamen's armchair, which is made of wood, overlaid with gold, and decorated with faience, glass, and stone inlay. The scene on the back shows Tutankhamen and his Queen, Ankhesenamen. This beautiful chair is now in the Cairo Museum (H. Carter and A. Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*).

PART I

THE ANCIENT EAST

I. THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

We do not know in what part or parts of the world the first men and women existed. They must have been little better than animals in their ways of living, and

A TYPE OF PREHISTORIC MAN
By the courtesy of Mr. Adolphus E. Rost

have left nothing except a skull or a bone here and there by which we may guess what they were like.

But men gradually grew cleverer and more skilful. They learnt to make fire, and to chip pieces of stone with other stones into weapons such as axe-heads and

spear-heads, to fit on to wooden shafts, for use in hunting and fighting. This period is called the Stone Age and lasted for thousands of years. But all the time men were becoming more human and more clever. At last we find that they have learnt to scratch and carve signs and pictures on rocks and in caves. From this time onwards they made such rapid progress that they soon reached a stage when we can begin to call them civilized. They no longer live as savages, but begin to have governments, laws, crafts, and settled intercourse with one another. They are now living in settled 'society', i.e. association with each other.

Man reached this stage more slowly in Europe than in the East; and so the history of civilized man begins in the East. At the point where this history begins, we find men divided already into three great groups, the Semitic, the Hamitic, and the Aryan or Indo-European; the Bible calls them respectively sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Further east, e.g. in China, are other great groups. But, so far as we know, the people of further Asia never touched the history of western Asia till thousands of years later. So we need only think of the three groups we have named. From the first have come such people as the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hebrews; from the second came the early Egyptians; from the third all European peoples are descended, as well as those of India and Persia. These groups, where our history begins, are not finally settled, but live in different parts of the world, the Semites in Arabia, the Hamites in Africa, the Indo-Europeans round the Caspian Sea. They are still splitting up into various divisions, which are moving off in different directions in search of food for their growing numbers, and of settled homes, and at last settle down in different parts of the world, where they find what they want.

From Nomad Life to Settlement in Arabia

(*Photographs by R. Gorbold*)

But the peoples of the East have progressed furthest; and civilization has grown most quickly in one particular part of the East. If we draw two straight lines from north to south, one running along the coast of Asia Minor and the western border of Egypt, the other along the eastern side of the Caspian Sea to the bottom of the Persian Gulf, and two other straight lines from East to West, joining the first two, one along the line of the Balkan mountains to the head of the Caspian Sea, the other across the south end of the Red Sea and the south coast of Arabia, we get a kind of rough square. This square is called the Near East, and it is in this part of the East that the first great civilizations arose.

Even in this square, we can look more closely and find the centre of these civilizations. If we look at the map of the Near East, we notice a kind of band or belt, shaped like a crescent;[1] this starts from the head of the Persian Gulf and stretches northwards nearly to the source of the river Tigris; it then turns westwards until it reaches the Euphrates; then it curves southwards through Syria and Palestine as far as the desert of Sinai. On the other side of that desert, a kind of extension of this belt runs southwards along the line of the river Nile. This belt is a crescent of fertile land; and all the early civilizations of the East developed within it.

In this belt are two great fertile plains, one at each end; one is in Egypt, the other is that plain near the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which used to be called the plain of Shinar, then was called Babylonia, and is often given the name of Mesopotamia, which means the 'region between the rivers'. In the rest of the belt the plains are less fertile or are more broken by

[1] 'The Fertile Crescent.' This illuminating phrase was coined by Professor Breasted in his admirable *Ancient Times* (Ginn & Co.) which is recommended for further study.

hills and valleys. But in these two large, rich, and well-watered plains, great united populations could live and thrive. Here then were likely to be the chief centres of any ancient empire.

But of course the peoples living in this belt would be liable to dangers both from inside and from outside. In the first place they might quarrel among themselves; and especially, the two peoples holding the two great

TRADE. A Caravan. (*R. Gorbold*)

plains would be very likely to be jealous of one another. All trade caravans would have to go along the line of the belt, as both desert and mountain on either side of it would be very difficult ground to go through. So each of the two powers would want to gain the advantage by controlling as long a stretch of this line as possible. Thus they might be led to fight with one another for mastery of the line.

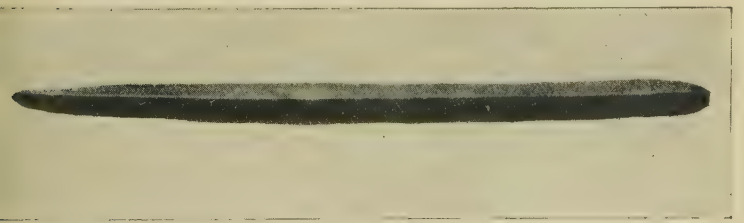
But there would also be dangers from outside. On the edges of the belt lie sea, mountain, and desert; and from any one of these danger might come.

(*a*) Any threat from the sea was not likely to come soon. Ancient ships were too small to carry large armies; and in ancient days, when sailors had no compass to guide their steering, they did not like to cross the open sea or to get too far away from land. Thus any one wanting to attack the belt from the West would come by land; and it was not till much later, not in fact till Alexander the Great (334), that any power in the West became strong enough to attack the fertile belt.

(*b*) Mountain and high table-lands run round the top of the belt from Asia Minor to Elam (east of the head of the Persian Gulf). These were occupied from early times by Indo-European tribes, which are supposed to have come from south Russia and the Caspian Sea region. These were great hordes of men, women, and children, always moving about in search of food and settled homes, and constantly pushed on by new waves of similar hordes coming out of south Russia. Some of these settled quite early in Elam. Others, later on, founded kingdoms in Asia Minor and Armenia. But others kept on coming behind; and all this mass of peoples was thus like a great tide, always trying to wash over into the fertile belt. This is the way in which the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Chaldean Empires in turn fell.

(*c*) South and west of Egypt lay the African deserts, from which the desert-tribes might attack the people of the Nile: whilst in the curve of the belt lay the deep desert of Arabia, where the Semitic tribes lived a wandering life (we call them nomads or Bedouin = wanderers), passing from oasis to oasis in search of grass for their flocks, of water, and of food. Usually they wandered in fairly small bands, as there is not enough food for large numbers in any one place in the desert.

THE EARLIEST PICTURE WRITING; about 4000 B.C.
An engraved stone from Kish in Sumeria. (*Professor Langdon*)



THE EARLIEST PEN. A bone instrument for writing cuneiform (wedge-shaped) signs. About 2000 B.C. (*Professor Langdon*)

WRITING by means of wedge-shaped signs

But at times, driven by hunger or the desire for civilized luxury, they would collect into big multitudes and then flood over into the fertile lands. Egypt more than once had to meet this threat; and this was the way in which the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Chaldaean Empires, and the Phoenician, Syrian, and Hebrew kingdoms were set up.

Now the ancient history of the Near East is mainly the story of the way in which desert, mountain, and sea have treated the peoples of the fertile belt; and we can now begin to study that story.

Somewhere about 5000 B.C., a people called the Sumerians came (probably from central Asia) and settled in the plain of Shinar, especially in the south part, which was called Sumer, the north part being called (then or later) Akkad. We do not know to what degree they were civilized before they came into Sumer. But in Sumer, when first we find traces of them, they have settled down in city-kingdoms under priest-rulers, who are constantly fighting against each other. We can also see that they were great traders; among other things, they imported a great deal of copper (perhaps from Sinai or Asia Minor). They had learnt to till and water the land, to cut and carve stone, to work in metal. They had also learnt how to write. They had no paper, but made wedge-shaped ('cuneiform' is the technical word) signs with a pointed reed on slabs of soft wet clay, which were then baked hard, so that the marks remained. The Sumerians could also reckon time fairly well. They divided the year into twelve months of twenty-eight days, regulated by the moon. As their year was thus too short for the whole round of the seasons, which depends on the sun, they added an extra month now and then, so as to get level. They lived in houses of sun-dried brick (there is no stone in Mesopotamia), and built a temple of the same material to their

Objects of Early Sumerian art from Kish, about 3,200 B.C.

(By the courtesy of Professor Langdon)

god, which is shaped with a tapering tower like a rude sort of church-steeple.[1]

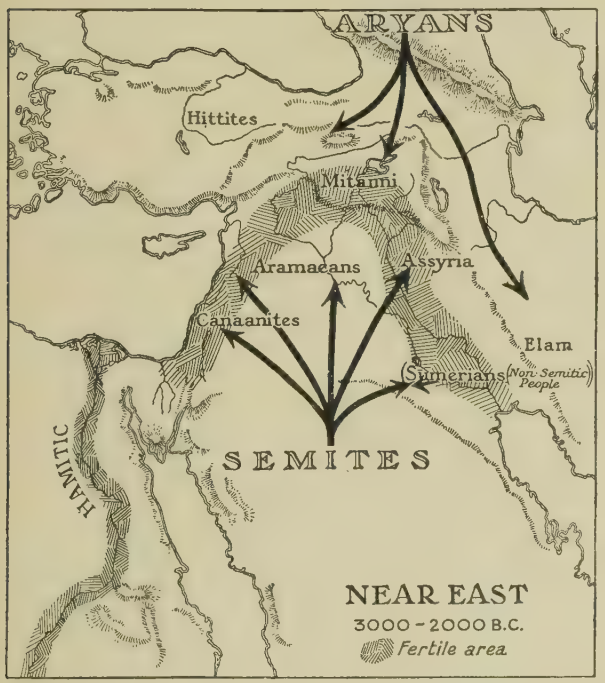
Somewhere about 3000 B. C., Semitic tribes burst in from the Desert and occupied Assyria (north of the plain of Shinar) and Akkad. A long struggle between Sumerian and Semite followed. At one time, under Sargon of Akkad (about 2750) the Semites conquered the whole plain. Later, Sumer and Akkad seem to have joined together in a sort of double or 'dual' kingdom under a single king, as Austria-Hungary used to be. For a time (2350–2150) the Elamites came in and seem to have mastered both parties. But new tribes of Semites kept arriving to swell the numbers of the invaders, and at last the Elamites were driven out, the Sumerians finally conquered, and a Semitic Empire was set up, with its centre at Babylon, which now became the chief city of the whole plain.

But the Semites did not destroy what the Sumerians had learnt. They took it over and used it and improved upon it. For centuries they had been fighting with the Sumerians; but they had also been learning from them. They too began to build houses of sun-dried brick, to write cuneiform, to carve stone and make sculptures, and to reckon numbers, measures, and time by the Sumerian tables. In time they taught themselves how to make bronze out of copper and tin. They also mixed the Sumerian religion with their own, and set up a great religion of many gods, large temples, and a rich and powerful priesthood. They began to practise arts of divination, i. e. of pretending to learn the will of the gods by 'omens', such as the flight of birds and sacrifice

[1] Scholars who are at work digging up the old cities in Mesopotamia are still finding out a great deal about the Sumerians, and we may before long be able to know much more about them.

of animals. They set up schools at their temples. They learnt and developed trade, and Babylon became the great trade-centre of the Near East.

The most famous of Babylonian rulers is Hammurabi



(2100 B. C.). He set the laws of the kingdom in order, and had them engraved on a stone pillar. This pillar has been found; and scholars can now read Hammurabi's laws and find out how high an idea of justice (though of course of an early sort) existed in his day. This is the

THE MAP. Acknowledgement is again made to Professor Breasted. (See p. 4, n. 1.)

earliest code of laws in the world, of which we know; it is supposed to have had an influence on the laws of the Hebrew people, which are known as the Law of Moses. We have also found fifty-five of Hammurabi's letters, written on clay tablets. These are letters to his officers, and are about such affairs as the care of his flocks, the care of the canals which watered the fields, the duty of collecting the taxes promptly and justly; they show us how busy a ruler of those times could be, and how many matters came under his personal notice.

We saw that the invasion by which the Semites became masters of Assyria and Babylonia began about 3000 B. C., though their final triumph was not gained till about 2100. Somewhere in the same centuries, other Semitic tribes were coming in from the Desert on the western side of the fertile belt, as they had come in on the eastern side. Let us see who they were.

(1) The Phoenicians. These settled down on the Syrian coast, with their chief centres at Tyre and Sidon. In time they became the greatest sailors of the world. They planted colonies all over the western Mediterranean; of these Carthage was the most famous. They even sailed outside the straits of Gibraltar to Spain, France, and Britain, and down the coast of Africa. They thus became a great naval power. But in Asia they tried nothing more than to defend themselves against attack; they never attacked others. Their chief concern was not war but trade. They bought what the East had to sell, and carried it in their ships to the West, and vice versa. Thus they became the 'middle-men' of the early world.

(2) The Aramaeans. Between 3000 and 2500 B. C., Semitic tribes of Aramaeans began to range about the whole edge of the Desert, from the Euphrates to Palestine, forming settlements here and there, as they found

HAMMURABI'S LAWS. Engraved on a stone pillar

opportunity. Some of these settlements grew powerful in later times; Damascus was and remained the most important of them. At present, however, the Aramaeans were very little advanced beyond the nomad stage.

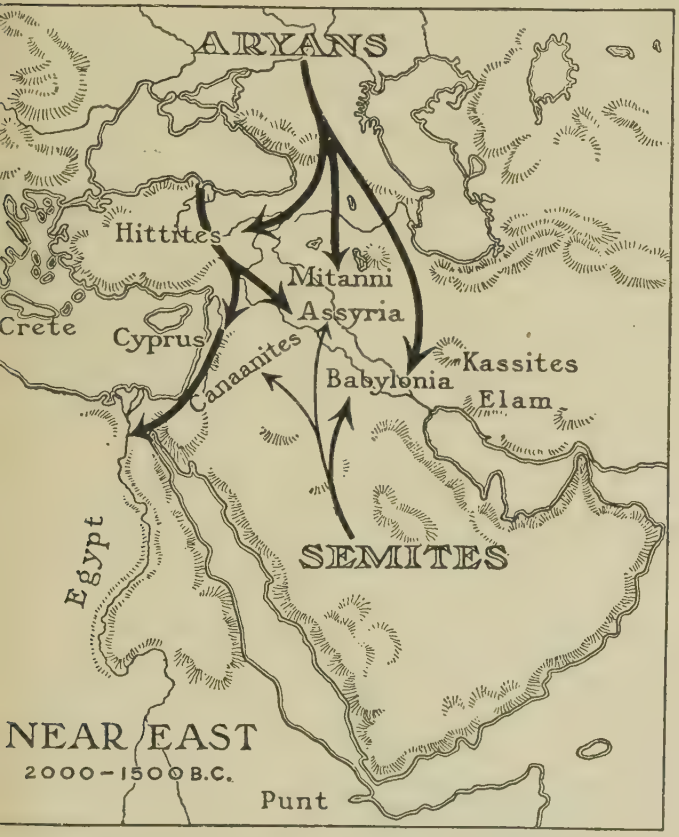
(3) Lastly, perhaps after 2500, there came into Palestine the Canaanites, tribes also of Semitic stock. They settled down in the land, which now can be called

PHOENICIA, THE SEA POWER. A Phoenician Quay

Canaan, and soon began to build hill-towns, to trade with Babylon and Egypt, and to become more civilized. They learnt most of their civilization from Babylon, and used the Babylonian writing. They never, however, managed to unite into a single nation. They lived in little independent city-kingdoms, each under its own king or prince. They were, in a loose sort of way, under Babylonian rule. Indeed, Babylon held a kind of empire over the whole fertile belt as far as the western sea.

So far, then, the peoples of the Desert had had every-

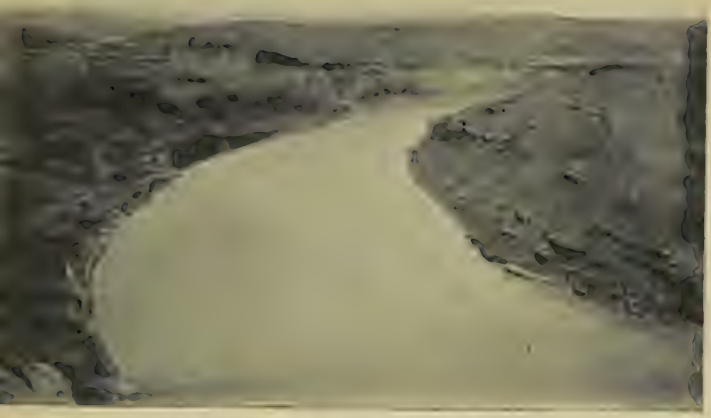
thing their own way in the fertile belt. But by about 2000 B.C., the time came for the peoples of the Mountain to have their turn. Soon after Hammurabi's time the



Babylonian Empire began to weaken. In Asia Minor, Indo-European tribes, called the Hittites, were now joining together into a kingdom. Their power was spreading southward and eastward, and was gradually

cutting off Babylon from Canaan and the West. In 1925 the Hittites even attacked and plundered Babylon. Soon after this, another set of tribes, called the Kassites, came in from the north and set up their rule in Babylon, which lasted for 600 years. These people brought the horse with them, which till then had been an unknown animal to the Babylonians. But, having set up their rule, they seem to have been contented to live henceforth in ease, peace, and laziness. In consequence Babylon grew weaker and weaker. Assyria, which till now had been a kind of subject of Babylon, now began to grow in independence. The Hittites were still increasing in power, and formed an Empire, with its centre at Hatti, east of the river Halys, which by about 1400 became the strongest kingdom in western Asia. A little earlier (about 1500), another small but compact kingdom, called Mitanni, had come into being between the Hittites and the Euphrates; and, although this never grew to first-class rank, it was yet solid enough to maintain itself, and it completed the separation of Babylon from the West.

Thus, during the years 2000–1500 B.C., the Semitic settlers in western Asia were being violently disturbed by the pressure of the mountain tribes, who were flooding into the fertile belt. As a heavy tide will send its waters far up the beach, so this overflow from the North sent the wash of its movement even as far as Egypt. We will now therefore turn our attention to that land, and, after studying its earlier history, we will see what effect these disturbances in Asia produced upon its life.



The Euphrates near Keban Maden

View from the mounds of a Hittite city site (Tell Basbar)

THE NILE. *A view in Upper Egypt*

Rameses II

II. THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

The people of the Nile were, so far as we know, the first of mankind to become really civilized. From early times they seem to have had no taste for war and no desire for Empire, and to have given themselves up to learn the arts of peace. Under their sacred rulers they became, by 3400 B.C., a great united nation, the first great nation of which we know. Even before that date they had learnt much; after it, they progressed still more rapidly. Let us see what they had learnt.

The Egyptians were, and have always been, a nation chiefly of peasants. From the earliest times they have grown grain and flax. From the flax they soon learnt to weave linen, and so the art of embroidery became possible. They were dependent for water on the Nile, and dug trenches to regulate its flow into the fields. By at latest 4000 B.C., they had found out the use of copper, and could make copper tools, saws, and implements to cut stone. Thus they had passed from the Stone Age to the Age of Metal. In time they discovered how to mix copper and tin so as to produce bronze.

They traded both by land and by sea. Lying as they did on the edge of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, they soon began to build ships. The first Egyptian picture of a ship comes from 2750 B.C., but they had been seafarers long before that date. These ships they sent out on trading voyages, some to the islands of the

eastern Mediterranean or to Punt at the south end of the Red Sea, to bring goods from those lands, some to the Syrian coast to collect wood from the Lebanon Mountains, which they needed for ship building; for Egypt itself has no timber. They built a canal from the Red Sea westward to the Nile, so that their ships could sail from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean or vice versa. In time they had to build a fleet to protect their trading vessels. Before 2000 B.C. they seem even to have had some control over Crete and the islands of the Aegean Sea.

By land, their caravans of donkeys and camels (they had never yet seen a horse) crossed the deserts into Asia and the Sudan. The wild tribes of the desert might make these journeys dangerous, so the Egyptians had to maintain colonies (for instance, in the region of Sinai) and soldiers to defend their borders against attacks from these tribes, to protect their caravans, and to punish any who disturbed them. We read of an Egyptian expedition by land and sea for this purpose into Palestine as early as 2600 B.C.; while later Egyptian kings, such as Sesostris I and III (about 1930 and 1860), often led expeditions into Canaan, and, in Africa, conquered Nubia as far as the second Cataract, and so added a long stretch of the river Nile to their kingdom.

They made equally rapid progress in the art of writing. By 3500 B.C. they were drawing pictures to express their meaning. They soon then advanced to the use of 'phonetic' signs, i.e. pictures each of which represents one syllable and nothing else. Long before 3000 B.C. they had gone still further and had learnt to use an alphabet of twenty-four signs, where each sign represents one letter or sound. This is the first alphabet of which we know.

Types of Egyptian Nile boats

They soon discovered a more handy material to write upon than the heavy, clumsy, clay tablet. In the marshes of the Nile grows a reed called 'papyrus' (from which our word 'paper' is derived); and the Egyptians found out that by pasting together strips of this leaf, they could procure a good surface to write on. They manufactured a kind of ink by mixing soot with water and

Egyptian writing on papyrus, with a picture of a mummy and a human-headed hawk

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

a little vegetable gum. Thus writing became an easier process. The papyrus could be rolled up into a small space, and so books could be written more easily and stored in large numbers conveniently. In the tombs of the kings and barons of the 'feudal age' (which began after 2500 B.C.) have been found libraries which have preserved to us the oldest stories in the world, the oldest poetry, prayers, and religious plays, the oldest books on medicine and mathematics, the oldest census-lists and tax-registers.

The Egyptians soon became more skilful in measuring time than the Babylonians ever were. They regulated

their year by the sun, and not by the moon. They divided the year into twelve months, each of thirty days, added five feast-days at the end, and so obtained a year of 365 days. This arrangement dates from 4241 B.C., which is the first exactly-dated year in history. The leap-year calculation, however, which was also first made in Egypt, was not made until the age after Alexander the Great.

The art of early Egypt likewise made wonderful strides, and even nowadays we can admire many relics of this early time, and wonder at the skill of these early Egyptians in jewel work and the cutting of stone for seals &c. ('lapidary' work, as it is called), in pottery and the making of glass ware, in the manufacture and decoration of furniture. Their ancient buildings and portrait sculptures are equally remarkable both for size and for skill. The best known of all Egyptian portrait sculptures, the Sphinx, represents the head of Khefre, the Egyptian king who built the second Pyramid of Gizeh, and it is the largest rock-portrait in the world.

The Egyptians worshipped many gods; chief among them were Ra, the sun-god, and Osiris, the god of life, of the life of the earth, which seemed to die every year, and every year was renewed by the Nile. In honour of their gods they built magnificent stone temples, though their own houses, as those in Babylonia, were generally of sun-dried brick. In these temples they erected rows of columns (colonnades), and they were the first to learn how to make round columns, to take the place of the older clumsy square columns.

Chief among their religious beliefs was that in a life after death. They thought that, when we died, we continued to live, and needed our bodies, our servants, and all else that we had needed in this life. Thus they always embalmed dead bodies, so as to preserve them,

and filled the tombs of the dead with furniture and articles of all sorts; in early days a man's servants were killed, when he died, so that they might serve him hereafter. But later they gave up this cruel practice, and placed in the tombs little statuettes to represent the dead man's attendants. In time, too, they came to believe that every dead man would be judged after death by Osiris, and rewarded or punished for his conduct in life.

Among the greatest Egyptian buildings which remain are the burial places of these early centuries; and the Pyramids, which date mostly from 3000–2500 B.C., were built as tombs for the kings. It is hard to believe that these buildings were set up nearly 5000 years ago. The Great Pyramid of King Khufu at Gizeh (2950 B.C.) covers thirteen acres, is nearly 500 feet high, and contains over two million blocks of limestone granite, each weighing two and a half tons. Egyptian records say that it took 100,000 men twenty years to build it, and we can well believe the statement; and it is only one of a line of pyramids over sixty miles long. This gives us some notion how many must have been the labourers which the kings of that age could command, what power of organization they possessed in order to regulate such an army of workmen, and what control of machinery they must have acquired in order to erect such structures.

The influence of Egyptian civilization spread to both east and west. Her power and wealth and culture had grown amazingly; and, up to 2000 B. C. or a little later, no danger from outside had come to disturb her peace. But, about 1700, as the result of the disturbances in Asia which we heard about in our last chapter, the prosperity of Egypt began to be threatened. At all times the Bedouin of the desert had been straggling into

EGYPT. Column in Osiris temple at Karnak

Egypt, where they would settle or become enslaved. Such, perhaps, was the way in which Abraham, Joseph and Jacob and his sons came into Egypt. But, when the Hittites began to disturb Syria, Asiatic peoples began to pour in a torrent into the land of the Nile. The Egyptians called these invaders the Hyksos, which is supposed to mean 'shepherd-kings'. But, while we are not certain who these Hyksos were, it is most likely that most of them were civilized Canaanites and Syrians, driven south by Hittite attacks; of course bands of tribesmen of the desert may have accompanied the invasion. Egypt was not able to keep them out. The Hyksos set up a kingdom, with its capital at Avaris in the Nile Delta. The Egyptian kings fled south, and kept up a sort of rule in southern Egypt. But the Hyksos practically ruled the whole land; and it was not till 1575 B. C. that Ahmosis, the first king of a new Egyptian dynasty, was able after a long war to expel them and to break their power. Some of them perhaps remained as slaves in Egypt. The rest were driven northwards into Asia and disappear back into the Canaanite and Syrian tribes, from which they had come.

The Hyksos brought with them to Egypt the horse and the war-chariot, and taught Egypt how to wage war on a large scale. When Egypt had driven them out, she seems to have determined to revenge herself. She now becomes for the first time a great military state. The kings of the new dynasty, of whom the most famous are Thutmosis I and III (1540 and 1479 B. C.) were great conquerors. Year after year, they fought their way northwards as far as the Euphrates at Carchemish. They established and maintained Egyptian rule over the whole western half of the fertile belt, while Canaan became an Egyptian province. In the huge temple at Karnak (on the site of the ancient city of Thebes) we can still see the stone carvings which tell the story of

the glory and wealth which thus came to Egypt, and also show how great were the Egyptian sculptors who thus recorded it.

The Egyptian Empire reached its highest point under Amenhotep III (1411 B.C.). But it then began to decay. The reasons for this lay both inside and outside Egypt herself.

(1) The kings who succeeded Thutmose III were less warlike and preferred to stay at home. The result

was that Egypt was full of discontented soldiers, whose occupation was gone; and the foreign subjects of Egypt were encouraged to revolt, when they no longer had the fear of the Egyptian army to keep them quiet.

Moreover, Amenhotep IV, who became king in 1360, spent his time in trying to introduce religious novelties. He set out to destroy the worship of the old gods, and to set up one worship only, that of the sun-god, whom he called Aton. In honour of Aton he changed his own name to Akhnaton, and built a new town (now called Amarna), for which he forsook the ancient capital of Thebes. His effort is remarkable and interesting, as an attempt to improve religious ideas. But his interest in religious matters caused him to have no time for the affairs of his empire, while it set all the priests and worshippers of the old gods against him. Thus Egypt became disloyal and discontented.

2. Meanwhile the Empire began to be more and more in danger from outside. (*a*) During Akhnaton's reign, the Hittites, who had now learnt to extract iron from their mines near the Black Sea, were continuing to push further south, and occupied all northern Syria. The kings of the new line which succeeded Akhnaton, especially Sethos I (1313) and Rameses II (1292) waged long and desperate wars to drive them back, but they could not expel them, and their efforts exhausted the strength of Egypt. Here then we see the power of the mountaineers weakening the Egyptian Empire in one quarter.

(*b*) A little later, the Hebrews, coming in from the eastern desert, occupied Canaan (about 1200 B.C.). Some of their tribes had been enslaved in Egypt; but these had escaped and now began to settle in the land west of the Jordan. Partly by war, and partly by peaceful methods, they gradually got a hold on the country, conquering or mixing with the Canaanites; and

Three generations of an Egyptian Royal House. AKHNATON (centre), his mother (left) and daughter (right)

though it was long before they became independent, Egypt could no longer hold Canaan as a province.

(*c*) At about the same time, sea and desert combined to make a direct attack on Egypt. Near the end of the thirteenth century, the naval power of the kings of Crete broke up; bands of seafarers from Crete, the islands round, and the coast-lands of Asia Minor, who had now become masterless men, began to raid to south and east. Some came direct to Africa, and joined the Libyan tribes of the desert in attacking the west of the Nile Delta. Others arrived on the coast of Asia, and in large bodies proceeded to work southwards. They weakened and broke up the Hittite Empire on their way, and then raided along the coast until they reached the Egyptian border. These two armies therefore were at work for about fifty years (1225–1175), threatening and harassing northern Egypt. The Egyptian kings were at last able to defeat and break them up. But a section of them, the Philistines, held together and fixed themselves on the coast of Canaan; a pretence of dependence on Egypt was kept up, but it was never much more than a pretence.

Thus Egypt lost her empire in Asia; but, more than that, the struggle had completely exhausted the Egyptian people. In the later stages of the conflict they had been obliged to fill their army with foreign mercenaries. The spirit of Egypt was spent; she went downhill in every way, and for 200 years or more she led a feeble existence in continual disunion and discord, under the rule of two rival lines of kings, one at Thebes and one in the Delta, the one as weak and incapable as the other. It was only when, after this interval, kings of foreign blood, firstly Libyan, and then Ethiopian, seized the throne, that any revival of her life took place.

Ashurbanipal

III. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

From 1100 B.C. on for 200 years, the peoples living in the fertile belt were without a master and without a danger. Neither in mountain nor in desert did any one stir to attack them. Nowhere was there any great king whose power they need fear. Babylon, though it got rid of its Kassite kings in 1181, continued to be as feeble as Egypt had now become. The Hittite Empire had now broken up. Assyria had looked, between 1250 and 1100, as if it meant to try for an empire; but it then slackened off and lost its energy.

The result was that the small nations of the belt had a free hand to make a bid for power, if they wanted to. The first people to try it were the Hebrews.

After they arrived in Canaan, the Hebrews had had a long fight for independence, especially against the Philistines. But they at last managed to get free, and under David and Solomon they built up a kingdom, which for about 100 years (from 1000 to 900) stretched from the Euphrates to the border of Egypt. But, after Solomon's death, they split up into two kingdoms, Israel in the north and Judah in the south. From that time they were never strong again, and became a second-rate power. Their real greatness was in religion. It was among the Hebrews that men arose, one after another, who thought the highest thoughts about God that the world ever heard before Christ. These men

are called prophets, and their teaching made the Hebrew religion the noblest of the world, until Christ came.

The Hebrews having become weaker, it was now the time of the Aramaeans or Syrians to grow great. These people had built up flourishing settlements north of Palestine at places like Damascus, Hamath, Arpad, &c., and had become the great land-traders of western Asia. They had learnt to use the Phoenician alphabet, and the Egyptian pen and ink, and they had become civilized. They now began to grow powerful also. Damascus especially became the centre of a kingdom which from 900 B.C. on, for fifty years or more, was the strongest power along the western coast, and could call upon its neighbours for help, if ever it was seriously attacked by any power from outside.

But the weakness of Syria was that it could never unite all these neighbours into a single kingdom. Whenever they had the chance, all these kingdoms, Syria, Israel, Judah, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon, and the rest, would fall to fighting with each other. If ever a great united power came to attack the West, the chances were that these Syrian States would not hold together. Besides, by fighting each other, they had all become weaker.

Now, by about 900 B.C., there was a new power, that of Assyria, ready to make a spring for empire. These Assyrians were Semites, who had come in from the desert about 3000 B.C., and had settled in the country north of Babylonia. Their capital was first of all at Assur, but a later king, Sargon (722), built another city to be the capital, and his successor, Sennacherib (701), finally settled the capital at Nineveh. In early times the Assyrians had generally been under the rule of Babylon or of the Hittites, but as they grew stronger, they became independent, and by 900, they were ready to try for the mastery of all western Asia.

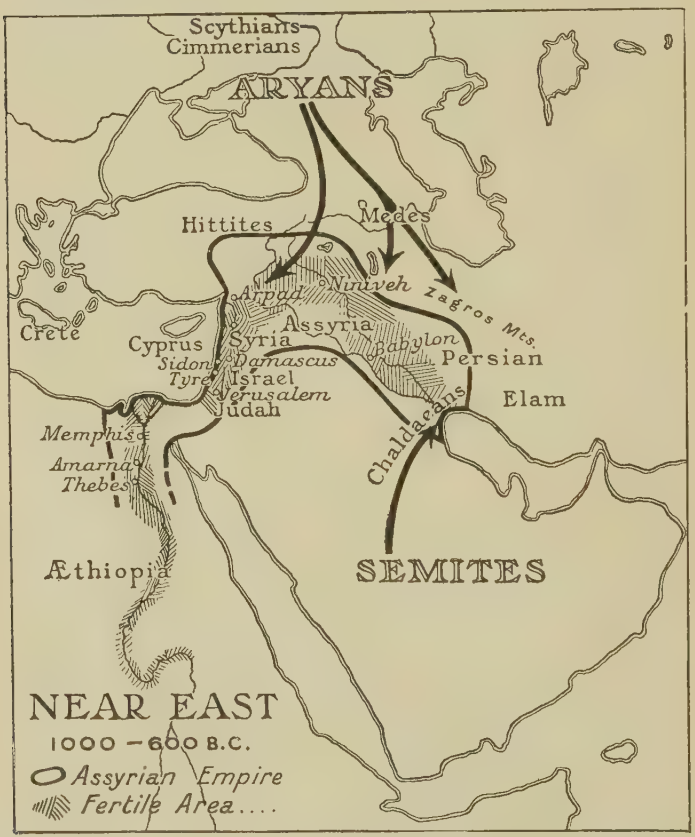
Of what sort were these people? Their chief occupation was tilling the fields. They never became great traders. They learnt most of their civilization from the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Hittites, the Phoenicians and Egypt. They became great builders of palaces, temples, and cities, and were good at sculpture. They also kept records of their history, and collected clay tablets (the books of that part of the world); 22,000 such tablets were found in the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, when scholars began to dig in its ruins.

But the Assyrians were especially soldiers. They had obtained iron from the Hittites and so could make iron weapons. They had cavalry and chariots and machines to besiege towns with. They lived for and by war. Their great kings, Ashurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II and V, Tiglath-Pileser IV, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, were all warriors, who spent most of their time leading their armies to victory and conquest. The Assyrians waged war with a fierce and pitiless cruelty such as the world had never seen. For 250 years their power grew and they were masters of the fertile belt. Their Empire then weakened, and within fifty years it collapsed and was destroyed.

It would take too long to tell in order the story of their wars. We will take them in three divisions.

(1) The Assyrian kings wanted tribute to pay their armies, and so looked south-west for it. They determined to conquer Syria and Palestine, and if necessary, Egypt as well. They began by attacking Damascus. The kings of Damascus called up all their neighbours and for over fifty years (854-800 B.C.) offered a tremendous resistance. But Assyria was too strong for them. The states of Syria gradually grew weaker. In 732 Damascus was conquered and destroyed by the Assyrians. Ten years later the same happened to

Samaria, and the Hebrew Kingdom of Israel came to an end. After 682 the southern Hebrew Kingdom of Judah submitted and became a servant of Assyria. The Assyrian power had thus reached the border of Egypt.



Egypt had felt the danger drawing nearer and had tried to hold it off. Under her kings of Ethiopian blood (727 on) she had always been trying to excite the Hebrews and others to rebel against Assyria, and had

THE MAP. With acknowledgements to Professor Breasted. (See p. 11, n. 1.)

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(2) Nearer home the Assyrians were always having trouble with Elam and with Babylon. They invaded Elam several times, and on the last occasion (647) they utterly destroyed the people and burnt Susa, the Elamite capital. With Babylon, however, they were less successful. Babylon was not strong, but yet it was so near to Assyria that it could cause a great deal of trouble if it was disloyal. And somehow, the Assyrians could never make Babylon loyal. They had constantly to conquer and reconquer it. In 689 they entirely destroyed the city and turned the river Euphrates to flow over the place where it had stood. The next king (675), to try and make the Babylonians more friendly, rebuilt the city. But it was of no use. Babylonia remained obstinate in readiness to rebel.

The chief reasons for this obstinacy are perhaps two. (*a*) The Babylonians could never forget that they had once been the head of a great empire, and could not resign themselves to be a mere subject of Assyria. And (*b*) a new set of people, called the Chaldaeans, kept on coming into Babylonia and exciting her to resistance. These Chaldaeans were also Semites from the desert. For hundreds of years they had been spreading all over the districts along the head of the Persian Gulf, the

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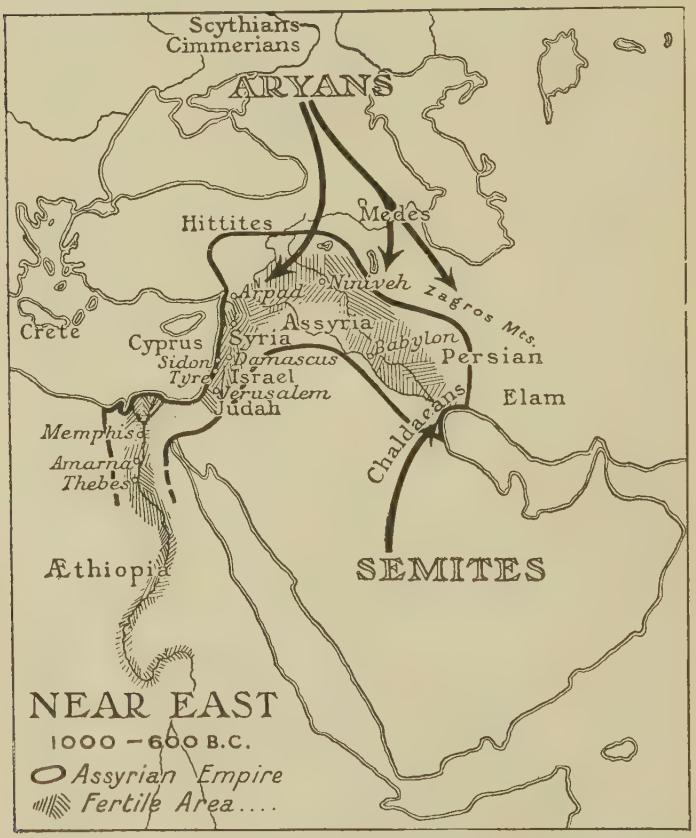

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'sea-lands' as they were called. They kept on moving more and more into Babylonia itself. Gradually, though Assyria often attacked and invaded them, they became the leaders of the Babylonian people. In 626 they set up a king in Babylon, called Nabopolassar, and declared their independence; and, when Nineveh was destroyed in 612, the Chaldaeans were one of the armies which did the work.

3. But the worst danger to Assyria lay in the north. If we look at the map, we can see that Assyria lies about at the north point of the fertile belt. All round her is a semicircle of mountain land. Here the Indo-European tribes of the mountain were once more on the move. Some of them, by about 850 B.C., set up a kingdom called Urartu or Kaldia, round Lake Van, north-west of Assyria, in what is now Armenia. This kingdom was always a troublesome neighbour to Assyria, and was not destroyed until 710 B.C. But worse than this were the wandering hordes which were spreading all over the highlands westward and eastward, and threatening on either side to come south. Of these hordes we can broadly see two main sections.

(*a*) The Cimmerians and Scythians. These were practically savages, wild half-naked warriors, riding wild steeds bare-backed, and armed with huge swords with long and heavy leaf-shaped blades. Wherever they went, they burnt, robbed, and destroyed. They kept the peoples of western Asia in terror for years as they roamed about. Assyria tried to check them; then she tried to engage them as allies. But, whether as enemies or as allies, they did much as they pleased. From about 650 or earlier, they began to come south and ravaged Syria and Palestine, so destroying the western provinces of the Assyrian Empire.

(*b*) To east and north-east of Assyria were a collection

Payment of tribute to Shalmaneser, the Assyrian conqueror, by the Israelitans (top), Egyptians (middle), and Syrian tribes (bottom)

Photograph Mansell

of tribes, among whom the chief were the Medes and the Persians. They had already reached some degree of civilization. In particular they already possessed a high form of religion. About 1000 B. C. a man called Zoroaster had taught them to see that all life was a struggle between good and evil. This struggle, he said, is due to a great endless war going on between a god called Ahuramazda, with his angels, and an evil spirit, called Ahriman, with his evil angels. This noble belief had become the chief religion of the Medes and Persians before 700 B. C.

These tribes were living in the highlands to the east and north-east of Assyria and Babylonia. They were beginning to collect into a sort of union of tribes, and were gradually spreading south-westward and westward. Many Assyrian kings tried to check their advance. But they could only succeed in delaying it. On these tribes came. They crossed the Zagros mountains, east of Assyria, they flooded into Elam, which, as we saw, Assyria had made an empty land by her destruction of the Elamites. By 647 the Medes were near enough and strong enough to attack Nineveh. They were beaten back, but still grew and grew more threatening. At last, under their King Cyaxares, they again attacked and besieged Nineveh in 614, and in 612, with the help of Chaldaean and Scythian armies, they captured and entirely destroyed it.

With the fall of Nineveh, the Assyrian Empire came to an end, and we can see why it perished. (1) The Empire was far too big. Assyria was not strong enough to hold it all. The Assyrian kings were great conquerors; but they did not know how to settle their empire in such a way that it should become united and loyal. Their subjects were always ready to rebel, and Assyria had to spend a great

deal of her strength in continually crushing these rebellions.

(2) Assyria was always at war, and in those wars, though she nearly always won, her own people were little by little destroyed. Towards the end of her time, there can have been very few real Assyrians left, and she had to fill her armies with men of other nations. Besides this, since she was always fighting, her people had no time to look after their fields, to trade, or to carry on the affairs which make a nation rich and strong, and which she can only carry on, if she has periods of peace in which to think of them.

(3) In all probability Assyria could never have kept the northern hordes out for ever. They were too strong and too numerous. But, if she had not tried to hold such a big empire, if she had not wasted all her strength in war, Assyria might have delayed them and let them come in little by little, accepting them as subjects or allies. As it was, her power collapsed before them like a house of cards, and the Assyrian people practically vanish entirely from the world.

The whole of Asia was wild with joy when Nineveh fell. Read the words of the prophet Nahum (e.g. chapter iii, verse seven and following) or of Zephaniah (chapter ii, verse thirteen and following) ; all Asia would have echoed them. Assyria ended at last without having given the world anything which might make it regret her. To the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, the Hebrews, the world owes something and to some of them it owes very much. But Assyria has taught us practically nothing. Her history and her fate are nothing but a splendid example that they who take the sword shall perish with the sword, and that an empire which has become great only by war will in the end die by war and leave nothing useful behind.

THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON, built by Nebuchadnezzar (from Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, 3rd edition, 1914 Leipzig: C. J. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung)

Darius the Great[1]

IV. THE CHALDAEAN AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

Assyria had fallen. Who was to inherit her possessions? First of all, Egypt thought she might try to take a share of them. In 604 an Egyptian army under Necho advanced northwards as far as the Euphrates. But there at Carchemish it was met and defeated by the Chaldaeans under Nebuchadnezzar, and driven in headlong flight back into Egypt. The Egyptians had no courage to make any further attempt.

Thus the Assyrian Empire fell to be divided between the two powers who had had the chief hand in destroying it, namely the Medes and the Chaldaeans. The Medes took Assyria and most of northern Asia as far as the river Halys, which was the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Lydia; whilst their cousins, the Persians, became lords of Elam. The Chaldaeans took Babylonia and all the western provinces of Assyria and set up under Nebuchadnezzar an empire, which lasted for about 50 years. He soon reduced the western provinces to order. Judah was still inclined to give trouble, so he determined to finish with it once and for all. In 586 he captured Jerusalem, burnt it, and carried a large part of the Jewish people into captivity in Babylonia.

[1] By the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Nebuchadnezzar was a very great king. Though he often led armies, he was chiefly interested in the arts of peace. Under his rule the city of Babylon was enlarged and beautified with splendid palaces and temples, and was surrounded with great walls and gateways. On the roof of his palace the king laid out wonderful gardens, rising terrace above terrace, which the Greeks called the Hanging Gardens of Babylon and counted as one of the seven Wonders of the World. Trade and business, the arts and crafts, flourished. Books and records of all sorts were collected or written. In the study of the stars, especially (the science of astronomy), the Chaldaeans made great progress. Of course no one had yet discovered that the planets went round the sun; but the Chaldaeans mapped out the sky and stars for the first time, and observed their movements well enough to be able to foretell an eclipse.

Nebuchadnezzar's Empire, then, was a fine and flourishing one. But as soon as he died (562) it began to fall to pieces. We do not know much of the Babylonian history of the next few years, but it seems likely that all sorts of conspiracies must have been set on foot, for, of the next three kings, two were murdered, and one died after reigning only four years. The last king of Chaldaea, called Nabonidus, left his work to be done by his son Belshazzar, while he spent his time in reading books and studying the old religions. Thus the kingdom began to decay from inside.

Meanwhile the other Empire, that of the Medes, had also had its troubles. The Persians, who up to now had been less important than the Medes, had been growing in power. In 553 Cyrus, king of a Persian district called Anshan, in Elam, became strong enough to depose the Median king, and to become king of the united Medes and Persians. Cyrus was a very great

man, and quickly increased his Empire. He at once conquered the districts lying west of the old land of Assyria. In 545 he crossed the river Halys into Lydia, defeated its king Croesus, captured the capital Sardis, and added the whole country to his own kingdom. He then went on, and at his leisure captured the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, and so became master of northern Asia from Elam to the Aegean Sea.

He then turned against Babylon, and in 538 he entered it as conqueror. The Chaldaean Empire, the last great Semitic Empire of the early East, thus came to an end. In the struggle between Mountain and Desert, which had been going on for thousands of years, the Mountain had at last won. The Indo-European had conquered the Semite.

Cyrus now ruled as Persian king over an Empire stretching from near India to the coast of Asia Minor

and the border of Egypt. In 536 he restored the Jews to their own country; but they were only a small people now, and could give him no trouble. In 529 his son Cambyses went further and attacked Egypt itself. Egypt had been growing stronger and more prosperous, and had begun to have a fleet again; but she could not stand against the Persian army. Cambyses conquered the country, and had himself crowned as King of Egypt. The Persian Empire was now the largest Empire that the world had ever seen.

The Persians were a very fine people. Their soldiers at this time, especially their archers and their cavalry, were the best in the world. They learnt much from the nations whom they conquered. From Babylon and Assyria they learnt how to build great buildings and to make wonderful sculptures and to lay out terraced gardens. From Egypt they learnt to build colonnades (rows of columns) and to decorate the walls of their buildings with enamelled brick. They made their cities very beautiful. Susa was their capital, but their kings also lived at Babylon, and they built new cities like Pasargadae and Persepolis in Elam. The Aramaean language was mostly spoken all over the Empire, though the Persians also used their own old Persian tongue.

But the chief glory of the Persians is that they tried to govern their provinces properly, and did not, as the Assyrians had done, merely hold them by military force. Darius, who succeeded Cambyses in 522, divided his whole Empire into twenty provinces, which he called 'satrapies', each under its own governor or satrap. The various nations living in these provinces were justly treated, and, so long as they paid their tribute regularly and supplied their appointed number of soldiers for the Persian army, the Persian governors allowed them a good deal of freedom. The Persians built great roads

A PERSIAN TOWNSHIP TO-DAY. (*R. Gerhold*)

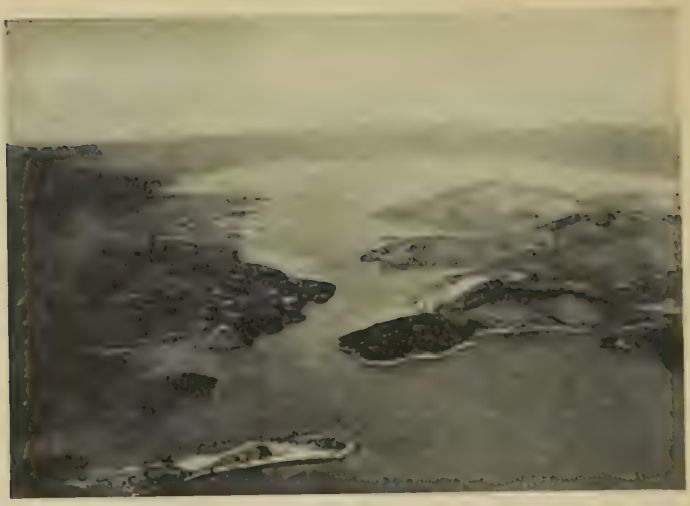
through their Empires, and had a regular system of messengers from the king's court to the provinces and back. Beyond that, the king felt that he needed a fleet to defend his coasts, and so he formed one of Egyptian and Phoenician ships and sailors (for the Phoenicians, though not actually conquered, were friendly allies of the Persian king). Thus for the first time, a great Asiatic Empire was also a great sea-power in the Mediterranean.

All this was wonderfully well arranged and thought out. But of course it was a 'one-man' Empire. Everything depended on the king. If the king was a really great ruler all would go well. But if he was lazy or stupid, the Empire would be bound to become weaker. And, after the death of Darius in 485, the Persian kings who followed were nearly all quite incapable. The result was that the Persian soldiers gradually became lazy, and their generals useless; the provinces often rebelled, and the satraps were often disloyal. The Persian Empire decayed. It did not break up, only because there was nobody ready yet to break it up. The peoples of the Near East were worn out, and Asia was waiting for a new master. Who that master would be was not yet certain, but it was likely that he would come from the West. The peoples of Desert and Mountain had disputed with each other for the rule of the Near East during 2,500 years. But the time had now come for the peoples of the Sea to take a hand in the dispute.

When Cyrus attacked the Greek cities of Asia Minor, he came into touch with a European people. For the first time a European and an Asiatic power met face to face. In the next chapter you will have to go back and find out what was the earlier history of the Greek people; and then you will go on and hear how the struggle between Europe and Asia went on. But a few

more words may be added here, so that you may have a clear idea from the start how all this ancient history connects up with the history of Greece and Rome.

The Greeks of Greece proper (Hellas) were never strong enough or united enough to do Persia any serious damage. They were able, as you will hear, to prevent Persia from coming any farther west or becoming master of the Aegean Sea; but they could not really hurt Persia enough to weaken its power. But when Alexander became king of Macedonia, in northern Greece (336), and took over the leadership of all the Greek peoples, there was at last a western power strong enough by land and by sea to cross over into Asia and to attack Persia at its heart. When this happened, the Persian Empire fell into his lap like an overripe fruit. Alexander died in 322. After his death his kingdom was divided up between his generals; three kingdoms were set up, Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. These fought with each other, and so gradually weakened each other. Then at last the Romans, who all this time had been growing stronger and greater, came on the scene, and proceeded to conquer the Greek and Eastern world step by step. So Persia was the last great Asiatic Empire of this early world. From henceforth the future lay in the hands of European peoples.



THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN SEA

Photograph by the Rev. Unmack

THE GREEKS IN SICILY

The Temple of Concord, Girgenti

Photograph by R. Gardner

Crete. Offerings to the sacred double-axe

PART II
GREECE
I. THE EARLY AGE OF GREECE

The ancient name for Greece was Hellas. This was a smaller country than modern Greece, for Macedonia, Thessaly, Acarnania, and Aetolia, which are now parts of Greece, were so rude and uncivilized in ancient times that they were not reckoned part of true Hellas, though tribes of Greek blood lived in them. Hellas proper then lay south of a line drawn from Naupactus on the Corinthian Gulf to Thermopylae on the Maliac Gulf. Outside that line was the rest of the world, the 'barbarians', as the Greeks called all who were not Greeks.

But here and there among the barbarians, like jewels in a dust-heap, were settlements of true civilized Greeks. The islands of the Aegean Sea, the Greek cities of Sicily and Southern Italy, on the coasts of Asia Minor and on the shores of the Black Sea, these could be reckoned as outlying parts of Hellas, of it, though not in it. For in them, too, lived Greek people, speaking the Greek tongue, and sharing in Greek civilization.

Before the Greeks came into Hellas the people who were living there and in the islands had become rich and civilized. As far back as 3000 B.C., and perhaps farther, Crete seems to have been the centre of a fine civilization which spread over the islands and into

Greece. These people—we do not know their name—traded with Asia Minor and with Egypt. At places like Mycenae and Tiryns (in the Peloponnese), in Crete, and elsewhere, have been found the ruins of wonderful palaces which they built, and in them were beautiful pottery, furniture, weapons, ornaments, and stone carvings. Bronze was their chief metal. We can see that they had acquired much knowledge of the arts and crafts of civilized life. The Phoenician traders, and their own merchants, brought them articles from Egypt and from Asia, and they learnt to make articles of their own, using these foreign things as models. This civilization is usually now called 'Minoan', from the name of Minos, whom ancient stories speak of as the King of Crete in old days. But, except from these remains found in the ruins of their old cities, we know nothing very certain about the way in which these people lived, though the poems of Homer (written perhaps about 800 B. C.) may preserve for us here and there a few recollections of their style of life.

Between 1300 and 1000 B. C. this Minoan civilization broke up, first in Crete, and at last in Hellas too. It was swept away by invaders from the north, who came flooding into Hellas and the islands, by sea as well as by land. These invaders were the Greeks, and we have to tell the story of their descendants.

We can only guess how the Greeks came in. The old tales give us the names of many different tribes; Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians are the chief names. The Greeks, when we get to know them, are not all alike either in features or in qualities. The Athenians were quick and clever, the Spartans dour and reserved, the Boeotians heavy and stupid, the Arcadians dull and rustic. But it is certain that all the Greek tribes were originally akin, and came from the same stock. They

Minoan vases in the Ashmolean Museum

The Queen's Room in the Palace at Cnossus

MINOAN CIVILIZATION

all called themselves 'Hellenes', and all spoke the same language, though there were differences in the ways in which they spoke it. It is likely that for three or four centuries tribes of Greek race were coming in from the north and settling all over Hellas. It is certain that the last of them to come were the Dorians. When they came in they drove out such Greek tribes as were before them in the places which they wished to occupy. Many of these took refuge in Attica, where they mixed with and at last dominated the people already living in the Attic plain. Others went overseas to Euboea, to the islands, and to Asia Minor, where they settled in such places as Miletus, Phocaea, and Clazomenae. All these refugee peoples reckoned themselves as Ionians. The Dorians settled down in most of the Peloponnese; Argos, Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and Sicyon became their chief towns. The peoples of Elis, Arcadia, and Achaea, south of the Corinthian Gulf, and of Locris, Phocis, and Boeotia, north of that gulf, are called Aeolians.

All this movement of Greek tribes may have ended about 1000 B.C. From that date the Greeks are finally settled in their positions. But they never became one nation under one government. The Dorians always despised the Ionians. The various Greek settlements were always ready to quarrel with one another. It is true that they all agreed in a thorough contempt for all who were not Greeks. They were usually ready to join together for a time against any barbarian enemy who threatened them; though, often enough also, they betrayed each other to a foreigner for their own selfish advantages. But, though they regarded each other as kinsfolk, they would never make a lasting union with one another. They did not want to live as members of big states or empires. They preferred to live in little

city-states, consisting usually of one big city with the small towns and villages round, where every one could know at first-hand about the people who governed them and about the way they behaved, and nobody had to live far away from the centre. Each of these city-states governed itself, and would not allow others to interfere with it. Even when a band of settlers went from their city overseas and founded another Greek city somewhere else, this new city, 'colony' though it was, would at once start a government of its own. A new Greek colony meant a new independent city-state, and not a 'dominion' added to the mother-city which founded it.

The land of Greece also is such as to make this local independence very easy to maintain. Greece is divided up by bays which run deep into the land—it is nearly cut in half at the isthmus of Corinth—and in every direction there are mountains which separate one valley or plain from the next. In such a land people have to live in small groups, and it is difficult for these separate groups to know one another well or to work together. The ground also is rocky and the soil thin. The Greeks of Hellas lived on corn, wine, olives, and fish; they hardly ever ate meat. They could only become rich by conquering other lands or by trading with them; and most of their trading would have to be carried on by sea, as the roads across Greece are rough and mountainous.

As soon as the Greeks had established themselves, and their cities had had time to grow, they began to send out expeditions to found other cities ('colonies') in other parts of the Mediterranean, in places where there was a good harbour and unoccupied land. Sometimes the city itself would send out such an expedition; the new city would trade with its mother-city, and so Greek trade would spread. Sometimes it would be a

band of the citizens who, for some reason or other, would collect a party to leave home; they would be keen on the adventure, and would look forward to starting life again in their new home. This process of sending out colonies began about 750 B.C., and went on for nearly two hundred years. A few names of these colonies may be given: Syracuse and Selinus in Sicily, Tarentum in Italy, and the island of Rhodes, colonized by Dorians; Leontini in Sicily, Abydos and Lampsacus and the Black Sea towns in Asia Minor, founded by Ionians; Croton and Sybaris in Italy, founded by Aeolians. These new cities sometimes became more rich and great than their mother-cities, and began themselves to send out and found colonies. Thus the Greek people spread all over the coasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean, as far east as the Black Sea and as far west as Sicily (Greeks from Phocaea even went farther west and founded Massilia in Southern France and a town in Corsica); and though, as we have said, each city lived and governed itself quite independently, yet they traded with one another, and knew enough of one another to have a common civilization, whilst they kept the common language. Wherever the cities were, they remained Greek. But the centre of all the Greek lands was always Hellas itself. Here always lay the heart of Greek civilization, and the main events of Greek history happened either in Hellas or in connexion with the cities of Hellas, especially with Sparta and Athens.

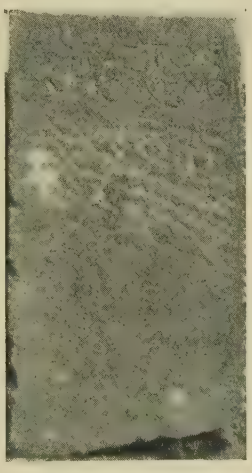
Argos was at first the chief Dorian city. But its glory waned early, and Sparta rose into the first place. It established its power by a shameless attack on a neighbouring people. Sparta lay in Laconia, in the south-eastern part of the Peloponnese. Due west of it, on the other side of Mount Taygetus, lived the

MODERN SPARTA WITH MOUNT TAYGETUS IN THE BACKGROUND

Photograph by Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar, Marburg

Messenians, a people also of Greek race. The Spartans coveted Messenia, which was a richer and more fertile country than Laconia. They therefore picked a quarrel with the Messenians, attacked, and, after a fierce struggle, conquered them. The whole Messenian nation was reduced to slavery and remained enslaved for hundreds of years. Always hardly treated and always discontented, the Messenians could only be kept down by main force. But the Spartans were well qualified to use force. At first their city was a place of luxury and wealth, a centre of art, literature, and trade. But soon after 600 B. C. they seem to have learnt to despise all such things, and altered their ways. Culture and luxury were banished, strangers were expelled, and trade was thus almost ended. The Spartans then set themselves to become a purely military nation. Every male Spartan was trained from boyhood for war and for war only, and had to become a soldier when he grew up. The boys were taken from their mothers as soon as they were seven years old, and were brought up in companies under teachers appointed by the State. Their training was mainly in gymnastics, swimming, and the use of weapons. Everything was done to make them strong and hardy. (We still speak of 'Spartan' discipline, meaning by that a hard training to make men able to endure hardship.) Weak children were taken out to Mount Taygetus, and there left to die. The necessary work was all done by Laconians who were not Spartans, and by 'helots' or slaves, most of whom were Messenians and the earlier inhabitants whom the Spartans had conquered. The women and girls joined in the gymnastics of the men and boys, and were valued only as people who were or might become mothers of Spartan soldiers. The grown-up men all fed together every day at common tables.

The Spartans of later times learnt to believe that these rules dated from their earliest days, and had been drawn up by a great lawgiver named Lycurgus. But it is certain that until about 550 Spartan life was full of amusement and interest, and not unluxurious. The great change which was made at that date, however, turned the Spartan people into an army always fit and ready for service. The Spartans were not very numerous, and their armies included Laconians who were not Spartans. Moreover, in time of need the helots might be drawn into the army as well. But the heart of the army was the actual Spartans, and they possessed all the privileges of citizenship.



SPARTAN BREVITY
A 'laconic' epitaph on a Spartan tombstone. 'Ainetos—in battle'

The Spartans are not an attractive people. They were hard, stolid, and brutal. They many times did very mean and treacherous things to serve the selfish interests of Sparta alone, and often showed little public spirit on behalf of the Greek peoples as a whole. But they were very fine soldiers. They despised the arts and luxuries of life. They lived a hard life, and lived to serve their State. They prided themselves on speaking little, and distrusted talkers. Our word 'laconic', which means 'speaking little', is derived from the old name of Laconia, the Spartan country. They did not believe in the kind of education which makes men clever, and very few Spartans made a mark by their brains; the fine work produced by Dorians in

sculpture and architecture was not done by Spartans. Sparta even produced very few brilliant generals. Everybody was ground into a military routine, and this deadened their wits for things of the mind. But as fighting men they always showed very high courage, stubbornness, and devotion. In its best days the Spartan army was invincible. The soldiers either conquered or died at their posts.

In Attica, north-east of Argolis, across the Saronic Gulf, dwelt a people of mixed blood, mainly of Ionian stock. They always regarded themselves as the head of the Ionian Greeks. They lived at first in small towns, each under its own prince. But soon—we do not know how—Athens became the head of the Attic plain. It stands under a rock (the Acropolis), five miles from the sea, where there is a good harbour, called the Piraeus. The Athenians became a seafaring and trading people, exporting mainly the oil from the olives which they grew. At first they were ruled by nobles, who (like our English knights before Crecy) formed the cavalry which was the chief strength of the army. But in time, as the value of the heavy-armed foot-soldier (the 'hoplite') was found out, the special value of cavalry in war decreased (as happened in England too after Crecy), and every Athenian citizen had to serve, when called upon, as either soldier or sailor. So the ordinary citizen became more important to the State, and people began to ask why a few men of the old families should have all the power in time of peace, when every one was liable to serve in time of war.

This jealousy of the nobles seems to have arisen in many Greek cities at about the same time. The cities were growing, and growing richer. The traders who had made money wanted a share in the government. Where the nobles behaved sensibly, matters

OLIVE HARVEST. WHIPPING THE TREES
Painting on a wine-jar of the sixth century B.C.
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

THE ACROPOLIS
English Photographic Company

were arranged quietly, and more people were given a share in public affairs. But where, as happened in many places, the nobles clung tightly to their power, the result was discontent, rioting, and civil war. In such a case there was a chance for any clever or powerful man who might stand forward to champion one or the other side. If he succeeded, he might go on and establish his own position as supreme over everybody else. He would then become what the Greeks called a 'tyrant' (a word which originally did not have a bad meaning), and would rule as long as he could maintain himself by force, money, or cleverness.

This actually happened in many Greek cities; and the Greeks called the period from about 700–500 B. C. 'the Age of the Tyrants'. Such men arose in Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, Athens, in many Greek islands and colonies, though never in Sparta, which continued to be governed by two kings ruling jointly, with a council of the elder men. The Greeks ever after hated the name of tyrant; they felt it to be hateful that Greeks should be ruled by a single man without having any chance of questioning his acts. But in actual fact, though the tyrants had no right except that of force to their power, some of them ruled well and did much to strengthen their cities and to encourage artists, thinkers, and writers; others, however, were harsh and cruel. 'The tyrants' (says the historian Herodotus) 'upset ancestral customs and do violence to women, and put men to death without a trial.'

In Athens Pisistratus became tyrant about 560 B. C. He made Athens very great. He encouraged the growing of olive-trees in Attica, he built temples, he established the Panathenaic and Dionysiac festivals, he had the poems of Homer written down, and protected poets and artists. But even a good despot (i. e. a single

ruler whom nobody can call in question) cannot make sure that those who follow him shall be good despots too. One by one the tyrants or their successors became unbearable, and were driven out of every city. This happened in Athens to Hipparchus and Hippias, the

Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed the tyrant Hipparchus. From a group dedicated at Athens in the early fifth century B.C.

sons of Pisistratus; the former was murdered in 514 B.C. and the latter expelled soon afterwards.

The consequence was that the Greeks determined to have no more of government either by a few men or by one man. The cities became 'democratic'; i.e. they arranged that in future their rulers should be men

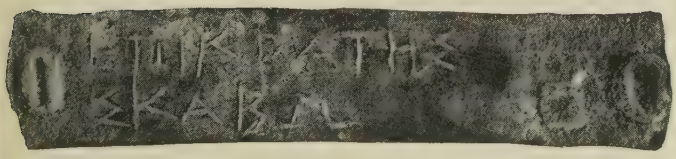
elected by all the citizens, men who therefore could be called to account for the way in which they ruled. Even at Sparta, which never had a tyrant, the power of the two kings was much reduced by the appointment of new magistrates called 'ephors', who were elected by the Assembly of all the citizens, and became the strongest power in the Spartan State.

All this change then resulted in greater freedom for the citizens as a whole. The Greeks had got rid of despotism. But men may gain freedom and yet not know how to use it well. The Greek cities often used their freedom badly. The citizens did not always choose the best men as their rulers. Parties arose among them, each party trying to win advantages for itself at the expense of the others. These parties were often very bitter against each other, and at times they came to blows. Party bitterness was one of the worst things in the life of the Greek cities, just as the jealousy between cities was one of the worst things in the life of Greece as a whole. The Greeks, we may say, made a great experiment in democratic government; and to see how this experiment at last failed can give many warnings to people like the British, to whom, as to the Greeks, freedom seems an essential for a right system of government.

Athens became especially democratic. Every single Athenian citizen was given the right to vote in the Assembly. They were chosen in turn by lot to act on the Council, which saw to the carrying out of what the Assembly decided, and to sit as jurymen in the law-courts. At a later time, Pericles introduced the system of paying councillors and jurymen, so that poor men might be able to do the work without suffering by being away from their occupations. Further, to save poor people from the danger of oppression, a law was passed

that no Athenian citizen could be enslaved for debt. These were the main reforms of great lawgivers like Solon in 594 and Cleisthenes in 508 B. C., and they fixed Athens firmly in the way of full democracy.

Front and back of a silver obol, the day wages of an Athenian juryman



A juryman's ticket with his name, Epikrates, his father's name (above the punch marks of two owls on the right), the name of his deme, Skabo... below, and on the left his distinguishing letter (iota).

Athens had by now grown so great that Sparta began to be jealous of her. This jealousy might have led to a struggle between them. But, before this could happen, there arose a common danger to all Greece, which was so threatening that all the Greeks had to put aside their jealousies in order to meet it.

II. THE GREAT AGE OF GREECE

You have already heard how, under Cyrus, Persia had conquered Assyria, Babylonia, and Lydia, and had become a huge empire stretching from Elam to the western boundaries of Asia. Throughout all this realm the civilization was of an oriental (eastern) type, and the way of government was that of an oriental kingdom. All power lay in the will of one man, the 'Great King'.

Practically all the art and learning, all the wealth and luxury, which the world had yet acquired, had developed in the lands included in this empire. By comparison with Persia, Greece seemed only a collection of quarrelsome little states, poor and unimportant, who had as yet done nothing big in history.

During the process of conquering Asia, Cyrus had captured the Greek towns on the coast and had added them to his empire; Persian and Greek, Asiatic and European, thus for the first time came into conflict. When Cambyses, Cyrus' son, conquered Egypt, and Darius, Cambyses' successor, subdued Thrace, it began to look as if Persia were pushing her power westward and might soon threaten Hellas itself. The Phoenicians were loyal allies of the Persian King, and their fleet was at his service. A voyage of not very many days across the sea might therefore bring a Persian expedition against the cities of Hellas. The Greeks perceived the threat. Athens, which was a seafaring power and on friendly terms with many of the Asiatic Greeks, was especially alive to it. Thus, when in about 500 B. C. the

THRACE
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts
CASPIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
ARMENIA
Taurus Mts
CILICIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cyprus
Antioch
R. Euphrates
Arbela
MEDIA
R. Tigris
Ecbatana
SYRIA
Sidon
Tyre
Naukratis
Jerusalem
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Susa
PERSIA
ELAM
Memphis
Persepolis
Pasargadae
ARABIA
EGYPT
R. Nile
PERSIAN GULF
INDIA
Thebes
RED SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
Miles
0
200
400
600

Greek cities of Asia revolted against their Persian masters, the Athenians sent help to them. Though the revolt failed, the Athenian interference infuriated Darius, and he determined on a great expedition to punish Hellas and especially Athens.

He prepared the way for this by conquering Macedonia and Thasos; and in 490 B. C. a very large Persian fleet and army came westwards across the sea, by way of Delos, until it arrived at Marathon. Here the Persian army, which had landed, was met by the Athenian forces (a contingent from Plataea had also come to help); in the battle the Persians were defeated and driven back to their ships, and the fleet sailed away back to Asia. Ten years later Xerxes, Darius' successor, renewed the attempt with an even larger army and fleet. They passed through Thrace, Macedonia, and the pass of Tempe, they forced the pass of Thermopylae and marched south, the fleet accompanying the army along the coast. The Greek fleet defeated the Persians off Artemisium, the northern cape of Euboea; but when the Persian army got through Thermopylae, the Greek ships had to retreat southwards to protect Attica. In the bay of Salamis the Persian fleet was completely routed, and the Persian army retreated into Thessaly. Next year this army was again on the move southward, but it was utterly defeated at Plataea; and at about the same time the Greek fleet, which had sailed east to look for the Persian ships, met them off Cape Mycale in Samos, put them to flight, and captured Samos.

The full story of these battles is among the most stirring tales of history. How the 10,000 Greeks at Marathon charged the great Persian army and put it to rout; how the 300 Spartans and about 1,000 other Greeks kept the pass of Thermopylae against the

THE PREPARATIONS OF DARIUS FOR HIS EXPEDITION TO GREECE

Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*

attacks of an army thirty times the size of theirs, and how, when a traitor had shown the Persians a track round the pass, so that the Greeks were surrounded, the Spartans died in battle to a man rather than surrender; how the Athenians, on the approach of the Persians, twice left Athens, which was then unwalled, to be destroyed by the enemy, whilst their men embarked on the ships, and those who were not fit for service fled elsewhere; and how the Athenians, again, twice refused the terms offered to them by the Persian general, declaring that 'so long as the sun moves in his present course we will never come to terms with Xerxes'; how at Salamis the Greeks broke the Persian fleet; nobody should be able to read these accounts without feeling his pulse beat quicker. For remember, the fate of Europe and of all that we have learnt to understand by European civilization hung on the result. We modern Europeans owe to the Greeks very much of the things that help to make life noble or beautiful.[1] But the Greeks had not yet had time to show what was in them. If they had been beaten, everything that they were soon to give to the world would have been lost, an eastern king would have ruled in Europe, the history of Europe would have been different, and we should have been born into a life without the great things which Greece has taught us. It was our battle that the Greeks were fighting, the battle of European freedom and civilization against eastern despotism.

We must go on to consider the results of the struggle. The war did not do any great harm to Persia; but it was the making of Greece. It taught the Greeks to think of themselves as the champions of a special type of life against the eastern type. They learnt to despise the Persians as a nation of slaves. They became aware

[1] See Chap. V.

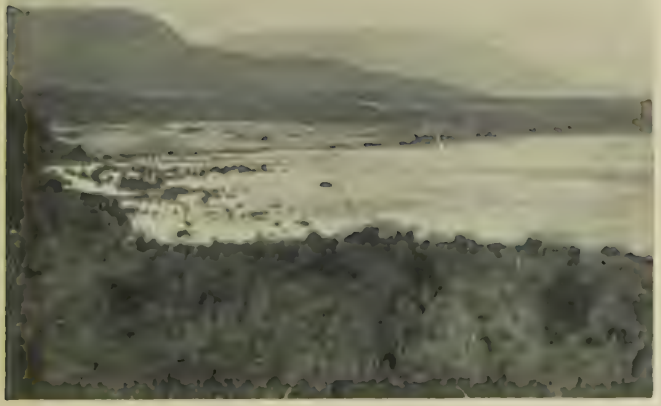
BAY OF SALAMIS

that they possessed something which must not be allowed to be suppressed; this something they called 'Hellenism', and they set it in opposition to 'barbarism'. By Hellenism they meant that spirit of freedom and civilization which lived in their minds, and which they felt it was their duty to keep alive and to develop. By barbarism they meant the way of life which prevailed in the eastern empire.

As a particular result of the war with Persia, Athens became the leading city of Hellas; and this in several ways:

(1) During the struggle Athens had the good luck to be led by one of the greatest statesmen that Greece ever produced. Themistocles was his name. He was a 'canny' man, and he often did underhand things to gain his ends. Before Salamis, finding that the Greeks were inclined to avoid battle, he sent a secret message to Xerxes telling him that they were intending to flee, and urging him to attack them. He thus tricked the Persians into attacking at once, which was what he wanted, as he believed the Greek position to be favourable. Again, after the battle, he sent another message to the king, advising him to hurry back to Asia, as the Greeks were planning to sail across and attack his bridge across the Hellespont. This was a lie, as the Greeks had just decided not to do so; but it sent Xerxes homeward in haste. But, though Themistocles' acts often show a great deal of rather dishonest cunning, yet in his aims he was patriotic, wise, and far-seeing. It was he who saw that without a fleet Greece could not hold out against Persia, and who therefore persuaded the Athenians to spend the money from their newly discovered silver mines at Laurium in building ships; it was he who for the same reason induced them to fortify the harbour of Piraeus, and to build docks there, and

THE BATTLEFIELD OF MARATHON
Photograph, Miss Burton-Brown



THE PASS OF THERMOPYLAE
Hellenic Society

to build walls round the city itself. (Later the Athenians connected the city with the harbour by walls five miles long.) He thus made Athens a strong city with a great naval dockyard.

(2) The struggle had been mainly won on the sea, and Athens was the greatest Greek naval city; she provided more than half the Greek ships at Salamis. Most of the Ionian Greeks were also seafaring and depended for their trade on having the seas free to them. It was natural, therefore, that they should look to Athens for leadership in keeping the Persians away in the future.

(3) There was no doubt that Athens had shown the best spirit in meeting the Persians. The Spartans, it was true, had been the backbone of the resistance on land, and they had fought magnificently at Thermopylae and Plataea. But they had often shilly-shallied and had seemed to prefer their own interests to the cause of Greece as a whole. They had not come in time for Marathon, because they said they were busy with a religious festival. They had fortified the isthmus of Corinth and had thought that, this being done, they need not trouble to help the Greeks of Attica and the north; they had only marched north to Plataea because of the selfish argument that, if the Athenian fleet surrendered to the Persians, the enemy could sail to the Peloponnese and disregard the Spartan wall at the isthmus. So, as a result of the war, the reputation of Athens in Greece grew at the expense of Sparta.

The formation of the Delian League was the first sign of Athens' new position. Some seventy cities (Athens, Euboea, the islands, and the cities of Asia and Thrace) made an alliance on the terms that each was to contribute ships, men, and money for a common fleet. Any city that was too poor to give a whole ship was to give money instead, and the treasury of the league was to be

THE PIRAEUS

THE WALL OF THEMISTOCLES

Photograph, Mr. Stanley Casson

at Delos. Of this league Athens was the most important member. She supplied the largest contingent. An Athenian, Cimon, was admiral of the whole fleet; and ten Athenian officials collected the money that was due.

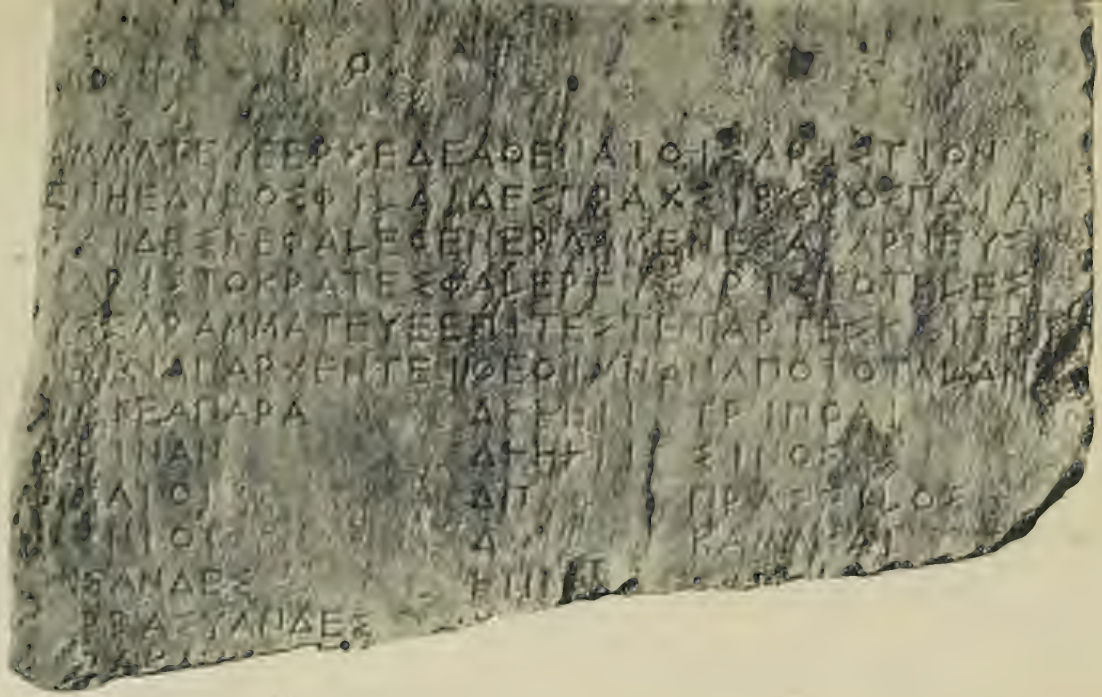
This league was the chance of a great union of Greek states. If it had lasted, Greek history might have been very different. But the experiment failed for very clear reasons.

Little by little the cities found it less trouble to give money than to give ships or men. The result was that all money was paid to Athens (within twenty years the treasury was moved from Delos to Athens), which equipped and provided practically the whole fleet, and used it to defend the allies against Persia. Thus the league was turned into an empire, and the contribution of equal allies became the payment of tribute by inferior cities to a single head city.

Again, the league would obviously break up if the allies left it one by one. Thus the Athenians felt it both their right and their duty to attack any ally who wanted to leave the league, and to compel it to remain a member. Having attacked and subdued it, Athens then ruled it so as to keep it faithful.

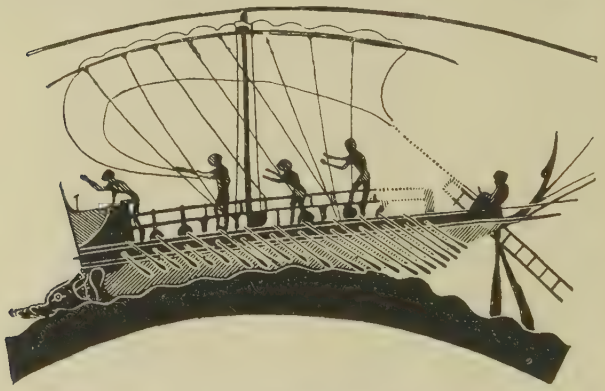
Moreover, as the league was for the general defence of Greece against Persia, states which did not belong to the league benefited by the presence of its fleet in their waters, and yet did nothing for its upkeep. Thus Athens, again, felt that it had the right to compel them to join.

It is hard to see that in all this the Athenians were acting wrongly or could have acted otherwise. Of course they became proud of their position, and, as they grew more powerful, they also grew more ambitious, and behaved in a harsh and overbearing manner to the weaker states. The way in which, a few years later, they acted towards Mytilene and Melos, seriously



A list giving the amounts paid by the tributary cities of the Delian League.
An inscription found on the Acropolis at Athens

proposed to massacre the whole Mytilenean people for rebellion, and actually destroyed to a man the entire population of Melos for not paying the tribute, shows how brutal they became in their rule, and gives us some inkling of the reason why they became so hated by many of their allies. For this the Athenians were bitterly punished in a few years. But, apart from their way of



A GREEK SHIP
From a vase

ruling, one cannot say that in itself the Athenian Empire did not grow naturally out of the Delian League; and the allies were as much responsible as Athens for the change which produced it.

Be that as it may, jealousy of Athens awoke in many Greek cities. In 459 B. C. the great sea-trading city of Corinth, which had become very envious of Athens, went to war with it, and was badly beaten. The Athenians used their success in order to attack and conquer Aegina, which had helped Corinth, and to overrun all Boeotia except Thebes. But discontent still grew; and Sparta, which had looked on with anger at the rise of Athens to the first place in Greece, was

always at hand to appeal to. Within the cities also, party spirit—that curse of Greek politics—blazed out, high against low, rich against poor. In their struggles with one another, one party would appeal to Sparta, the other to Athens. Thus the Greeks fell apart again, and

A HOPLITE SETTING OUT FOR WAR
A vase of the fifth century B. C.
Photograph, Alinari

Greece became a powder magazine only waiting for the lighted match.

But, before the explosion came, Athens used her time in a wonderful way. To her, more than to any other Greek city, the Persian wars had sounded the call to glory. The glory in war had come ; and a spring and an energy showed themselves in her life, after the wars ended, which made the years from 480 to 430 her golden age.

For most of this time the chief man in Athens was called Pericles. He was a man who saw a vision of an Athenian Empire, by which Athens would lead the Greek world in the path of civilization. A free Athens was to teach the world how to be free. To be worthy of such a calling, Athens must be great. (1) She must be great in war. He perfected the defences of the city, and strengthened the fleet. He had no warlike ambitions, and on his death-bed, when his friends were praising his achievements, he claimed that the most honourable part of his character was that 'no Athenian, through my means, ever put on mourning'. He was the first great statesman who believed in the greatness of the victories of peace. But he knew that Athens could not afford to neglect her military and naval forces. (2) She must be great in her way of conducting her affairs. He completed the democratic system of Athens, and made her a state where every citizen, down to the poorest, had an equal chance of holding office. The Assembly of all the citizens was supreme. The Council was its weapon, and the magistrates (called 'archons') were its servants. Councillors and archons were chosen by lot, so that anybody might find himself called to take his turn in these offices. The burdens on the poor were lightened. The rich were called on to provide for the necessities and the luxuries of the whole city. Rich men were chosen to pay for the building and equipping of the ships (each commanding the ship he provided), or to collect and train the choruses which performed at the great festivals. They were to regard these duties not as a burden but as a service to the city, and to do the work as well as possible for the sake not of reward but of the honour. In the days of Pericles this system was successful. But later the rich became selfish and tried to shirk their

Head and shoulders of the colossal gold and ivory statue of Athene which stood in the Parthenon, reproduced on an ancient gem. The statue was by Pheidias

THE PARTHENON

Photograph, Mr. P. Hart

duty, while the poor citizens became anxious to avoid serving in the army or navy.

(3) Above all, Athens must be great in the things of the mind and spirit. The Persians had destroyed the city. The Athenians would rebuild it to be a thing of beauty to the whole world. The old temples were set up again, and new temples were built; especially the great Parthenon, the temple of Athene (the goddess of the city), which became one of the wonders of the world. Writers, thinkers, painters, and sculptors were encouraged to give the best that was in them for the glorification of Athens and of Greece and for the education of the world.

Never in the history of man was there such a flowering-time of art and literature as the age of Pericles at Athens. It is the age of the great sculptors such as Myron and Pheidias, of the great tragic plays such as those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, of the historians Herodotus and (a little later) Thucydides, of men of science like Anaxagoras, of architects like Ictinus, Callicrates, and Mnesicles. These were not all Athenians. Herodotus came from Halicarnassus, Anaxagoras from Clazomenae; but such men came to Athens as steel to a magnet, and found in Athens the encouragement of their genius. Nor must we forget that elsewhere in Greece, especially at Argos, great artists were at work. But the heart of all Greek culture was at Athens. Athens was the 'school of Hellas', as Pericles bade her be. This small[1] people of Athens, within only fifty years, produced such a number of first-rate works in almost every department of beauty and

[1] The population of Attica probably never rose higher than about 250,000, including slaves (perhaps a third of that total) and resident foreigners (a sixth of it). The number of adult male citizens was about 35,000 to 40,000 at most.

knowledge, especially in architecture, sculpture, and poetry, that even nowadays we must go back to them for the greatest teaching in these matters.

The fifty years came to an end and the glory of Athens was eclipsed. But not at once nor entirely. Not at once, for even after 430 the list of first-rate Athenian work still goes on for a time. Nor entirely, for during centuries to come great works of Greek art were still being produced elsewhere, which carried on and used the lessons that Athens had taught. But, after Pericles' time, we no longer see at Athens or anywhere else a whole people filled with the love of beauty and inspiring its great men to give them works which would satisfy that love. Athens never forgot that she had once been such a city. Even in St. Paul's time her citizens 'spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing'. Their interests had by then become futile enough, and their minds had become keen mainly on petty triflings. But even so, the glory of the great age, dimmed as it was, had not quite faded from the heart of Athens. She was still the place that every educated man would visit, if he could; she is so still.

Athens decayed after 430. But the forces which ruined her were at work before. Outside there was the threat of Sparta and the discontent of the allies. Inside Athens the evil days to come were casting their shadows before. To be free and to teach others to be free is a fine ambition; but it needs great and good men to pursue it worthily. Otherwise you may only become slack and undisciplined yourself, whilst you try to lord it over others. So it happened in Athens. Party strife awoke; even Pericles in his latter days suffered from it. New men arose in the State who were not as Pericles; they used their influence to

secure their selfish ends, and they misled Athens into ways of bullying, self-conceit, and vulgar ambition. The spirit of the people got worse; they could not live up to the high ideals which Pericles had tried to teach them; they began to shirk duty and to demand flattery from their leaders. The Athenian Empire perished because its rulers and people became unequal to the strain of being as noble as they needed to be, if the Empire was to be the blessing to mankind that Pericles had wished it to become.

PERICLES
(British Museum)

Thucydides

III. THE LITTLE AGE OF HELLAS

In 431 B. C. war broke out between Athens and Sparta. This continued, with short intervals of time, till 404, and is called the Peloponnesian War. At the end of it Athens was stripped of her Empire; and though she soon regained some power, she was never again as important as she had been. From 404–378 Sparta was once more the most important Greek city. In 378 Thebes revolted against her leadership. With a new army, and under great leaders, she succeeded in shattering Spartan power. For a short time Thebes was the chief city of Greece. Finally, a new power which had been growing up in the north came in and took the lead of the Greek world.

The story of these years is a weary part of the history of Greece. It is true that the Peloponnesian War has been narrated by one of the great historians of the world. Thucydides served in the war and wrote the account of it. And he seized on the incidents in order to make them the text from which he preaches of the causes which led to the fall of Greece. So wise, so impartial, so clear-seeing are his reflections that even nowadays to read his book is a lesson in political wisdom which any statesman or any thinker on such matters is the better for learning. Nor, of course, is this war without its thrills of excitement. The story of how the

Athenians blockaded a Spartan army on the island of Sphacteria in the harbour of Pylos, and at last captured them by a night-attack, or the story of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, of its first successes, of the great battle in the harbour of Syracuse, of the Athenian retreat, and of the surrender of their whole army; these, as Thucydides tells them, are among the most exciting stories ever written.

But the fact that a great historian has written a great history about the Peloponnesian War must not blind us to the fact, which Thucydides himself sees clearly enough, that the age of Greece from 430 onwards is an age of smaller men, smaller ambitions, and smaller causes. The struggle between Athens and Sparta gradually drew in practically all the western Greeks. But it was in itself a struggle between cities for the mastery over one another, and not a fight for a great common cause, as the Persian Wars had been. This becomes even more clear after 400 B. C. The endless, feverish conflicts of the Greek states after that date are only the petty bickerings of petty powers for petty objects. The story becomes as dull as it is complicated. The greatness has gone out of the life of the Greek cities, and one grows angry as one reads the story of those years in which the city life of Greece wastes itself away in these unceasing squabbles and littlenesses. Let us hurry through the history and try to see only the main points in the course of events.

The cause of the Peloponnesian War is fairly simple to discover. Athens had grown great. She had now become greedy. She wanted to gain all the trading advantages for herself. This roused the fear and envy of other great trading cities like Corinth and Megara, which could not stand by and see their own trade strangled by the increasing power and selfishness of

Athens. Any excuse would be enough to set war alight between them. If such a war broke out, Sparta would be certain to join in. Corinth and Megara were Peloponnesian cities, and Sparta was practically bound to take up their cause against Athens, especially as Sparta herself was jealous of Athens and nervous of her ambition. The occasion came in a quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra, in which Athens took Corcyra's part against Corinth. So began the war; if it had not started from this occasion, it would have started from some other. The Greek states were 'spoiling' to fight each other.

Athens, especially with the Corcyraean navy to help her, was supreme by sea. Sparta had the Corinthian navy, which was then the second in Greece, on her side; and very useful this navy proved. But Sparta's chief strength was on land, in her army and those of her allies. Athens could attack the coast-towns of the Peloponnese. But Sparta could invade Attica. (Neither side had any engines to attack walled towns.) Year by year a Spartan army marched into Attica and destroyed its crops; later on the Spartans set up a fortified post at Decelea in Attica, and so cut off Athens from getting in her corn and olives and from working her own silver mines at Laurium. Athens was thus hard pressed for money. She met the difficulty by doubling the tribute from her allies. But this only increased their disloyalty to Athens, and forced her to use a great deal of her strength in suppressing them when they revolted. Moreover, the ravages of the Spartans in Attica ruined the small farmers, who crowded into the city, since their farms were destroyed. The over-crowding (in an undrained town) caused plague, which killed thousands (one in four of the citizens), and so reduced the manpower of Athens. Pericles' two sons and his sister

died of the plague. He himself died in 429 B. C., and his loss was a severe one for Athens.

The strain of the struggle wore out the nerves of the Athenians. The vigour went out of their spirit. They became war-weary. They were faced with a bigger task than they could manage when they had to try to hold their empire together and at the same time to make head against Sparta and their other enemies in Hellas. The effect of the wear and tear on their nerves is plainly seen in the growth of a bad spirit amongst them. They ceased to listen to the wise advice of real statesmen, and preferred to give ear to men like Cleon and Alcibiades—Cleon, a tanner by trade, a man of ready tongue, brave, and fairly honest, but rash and headstrong, and a supporter at all times of violent action, however unwise it might be—and Alcibiades, a man of wealth, birth, and brilliant ability, the darling for a time of the people's party, but a man without honesty,[1] who wanted nothing so much as a chance to show off his own powers, by leading Athens into some dazzling adventure, whatever its risk. To such men the Athenians listened; but men who were merely good generals, and knew what was wise and unwise to do in a campaign, never had the same influence with the people as men who were good talkers.

The Athenians also became fatally ready to distrust their own most capable leaders. They fined Pericles because the Spartans had invaded Attica. They elected Alcibiades as general, and then, after he had started with his forces, they sent to recall him; a mood of distrust had suddenly come on them, which the party of

[1] One day he went to see Pericles and was told that Pericles was not at leisure, as he was considering how to give in his accounts to the people. He said as he went away, 'He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all'.

Alcibiades' enemies turned against him. (When Alcibiades was told that the Athenians had, in his absence, condemned him to death, 'I will make them find that I am alive', he said. He escaped and joined the Spartans, and his advice to them did very much harm to Athens during the rest of the war.) Nicias, a very poor general

Syracusan silver ten-drachma piece (actual size) celebrating the defeat of the Sicilian Expedition. Beneath the chariot on the reverse of the coin is one of the suits of captured Athenian armour offered as prizes at the games on the river Asinarius celebrating the victory

and a very honest politician, was continually appointed, even against his own will, to lead armies, whilst his advice in politics was continually disregarded. Six generals were executed at once because, after they had won a great naval victory, twenty-five of the Athenian ships had been lost in a storm which made it impossible for the rest of the fleet to pick up the crews.

As the war went on, instead of husbanding their strength carefully, the Athenians—this also is a sign that they had become 'nervy' and hysterical—allowed themselves to be dazzled by new ventures and the hope of new conquests. Their expedition to Sicily in 415 B. C., to attack the great city of Syracuse, was a desperate affair, and a quite unnecessary adventure. The aston-

ishing fact is that it nearly succeeded. But for two years it drew large forces from Athens at a time when she needed all her strength nearer home. Having started it, the Athenians badly mismanaged it; they divided the command of their forces between three and then between two generals; they paid no attention to their generals' reports on the military situation, urging them to go on, when the generals reported that it was too risky to do so. The attempt ended in a tragic and disastrous failure. It so exhausted the strength of Athens that, though after it she still struggled on against Sparta for nine more years, all hope of any victory was at an end.

In spite of all this, Sparta and her allies would probably not have won the war, or at least would not have won it so decisively, if they had not called in foreign aid. So long as Athens could equip a fleet to keep the sea, she could not be captured. The end came when Sparta turned to Persia for help. With Persian money she built and manned ships, and so was enabled to destroy the Athenian navy at the battle of Aegospotami. Athens now lay open to attack by sea. The Spartan navy sailed into the Piraeus, and Athens had to surrender without any terms. Corinth and Thebes wanted the city to be utterly destroyed, and the nation to be sold into slavery. But Sparta would not go to such an extreme. Athens had to give up all her foreign possessions. The Long Walls (from Athens to the Piraeus) and the fortifications of the Piraeus were to be pulled down. Athens was to become an ally of Sparta and to follow where she led. But at least her independence in home affairs was left to her.

The Athenian Empire was ended. The city gradually recovered strength; and she still had her trade. But her power was gone; for forty years she was only a state of the second rank in Greece.

The quarries at Syracuse into which the Athenian prisoners were thrown

In art and literature Athens still produced great works. The later plays of Euripides and most of the comedies of Aristophanes come from the war period. But the life and teaching of Socrates, the writings of Plato and Xenophon, the speeches of Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes (of whom we shall hear more in our next chapter), and the sculptures of Praxiteles, are all of the time after the war. They are very great works. Athens was still the centre of Greece in thought and literature. In art, the influence of the place where Greek art had first become great still lived on; but henceforth most Greek art was produced for private men or for rich cities, and Athens was no longer rich enough to afford a good market for the work of sculptors, painters, and architects. It was in other parts of the world, and especially in the rich and luxurious cities of Asia Minor, that Greek architects, Greek sculptors like Scopas of Paros, and Greek painters like Zeuxis and Parrhasius, lived and worked. Athens was on the way to the time when she would have to live on her past. But she had not quite reached it yet.

During the twenty-six years of her power (404–378) Sparta showed herself entirely incapable of being head of an empire. She had no idea of doing anything except by force. She brutally oppressed any cities whose loyalty to herself she doubted. She had won the Peloponnesian War largely by the help of her allies; but she forgot them in the hour of success, and tried to keep all the profits of victory for herself. In particular, she behaved with the greatest folly towards Persia. She had won the help of Persia by selling the Asiatic Greeks to her, i. e. by promising to let Persia treat them as she liked without interference. It was an act of treachery to the Greek name, and the Greek cities of Asia were never henceforth independent. But, having

committed this act, Sparta at least ought to have carried out her bargain fairly. Instead of this, she went out of her way to offend Persia. She supported Cyrus, the brother of the Persian King Artaxerxes, in his attempt to seize the throne; the Spartan King Agesilaus was sent to attack the Persian provinces in Asia Minor and reconquered many of the Greek towns. At last Persia engaged an Athenian admiral, named Conon, who with Persian ships destroyed the Spartan fleet at the battle of Cnidus in 394 B. C., and Sparta vanished out of Asia. But henceforward, for a long time to come, Persia was the enemy of Sparta, and she gave money to Athens to enable her to rebuild her Long Walls. It was fortunate for Hellas that by now the Persian Empire was growing weaker. Her weakness was signally shown up when an army of 10,000 Greek mercenaries (hired soldiers), which had accompanied Cyrus in his march to seize the Persian throne, being forced to retreat from near Babylon, where Cyrus had been killed in battle, marched untouched right across the Persian Empire until they reached the Black Sea in safety. If it had not been for the decay of Persia's power, an oriental army and navy might again have been seen on the coasts of Greece.

Sparta's allies in Greece turned against her. Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos made a league to oppose her. Against this league Sparta for a time made headway, though with difficulty; for the Spartan army was no longer what it had been. She at last owed her downfall to a typical act of treachery on her part. In the middle of a truce with Thebes she sent a band of soldiers to seize the Theban citadel. This shameless act (382 B. C.) led directly to the rising of the Thebans. They stormed the citadel and drove out the Spartans. They then reformed their army, and by making an alliance

with Jason, the prince of Pherae in Thessaly, they secured the help of Thessalian cavalry. The Theban leaders at this time were two remarkable men, Pelopidas, a dashing general, and Epaminondas, a military genius, a man of stainless character and wide mind, and a patriotic citizen of Thebes. Under their leadership the Thebans went from success to success. They drove the Spartans out of Boeotia, they routed them at Leuctra (371), they invaded Laconia, and threatened Sparta itself. Above all, they undermined the very foundation of Spartan power by setting up in the south-western Peloponnese a new independent city called Messene, in which all Sparta's Messenian slaves who could escape, and all exiles from Sparta, might take refuge. Thus a new state, hostile to Sparta, was fixed in her near neighbourhood. Henceforth Sparta had her hands too full at home to be dangerous abroad.

Thebes became for a few years the most powerful city of Greece. But Epaminondas died in 362, in the moment of a great victory over the Spartans at Mantinea. Pelopidas had died, also in battle, two years before. Without these two men Thebes sank back into her own affairs and no longer tried to play a leading part in Greece.

The leadership of Greece once more came to Athens. She had taken only a secondary, but an honourable, share in the doings of the last forty years. She had regained a few foreign possessions, and was on friendly terms with the Black Sea towns and the towns on the Thracian coast. She could not afford to maintain a large army; war had now become so elaborate that professional soldiers were necessary; the day of the citizen soldier, who served in war and then went home, was nearly over; every state had more and more to depend on paid soldiers who made soldiering the

business of their lives. But, if the Athenian army was small, her fleet was good, her generals were skilful, and her trade was flourishing. Above all, the Athenian people had regained its nerve, after the stress of the Peloponnesian War had ended. Party feeling, though still active, was no longer as bitter as it had been. The

The Arcadian gate of Epaminondas' new city of Messene. The great block in the centre divided the passage way into two

Athenian statesmen of this period were on the whole wise and prudent, and they led Athens in a careful and sensible course of policy.

Of course Athens was not the great Imperial city that she had been. And the faults of her people still existed. The Assembly of the people was now all-powerful ; and the Assembly was too easily swayed to decide even important questions according to the feeling of the moment. It might order one line of action one day, and reverse it the next ; it might declare war, and then

refuse money for the fleet, or send out a fleet, and then refuse to continue sending supplies to it. The people never put real trust in their generals; and even their statesmen and advisers were always liable to be prosecuted, if their advice proved unlucky, or if the opposing party in Athens gained in power, or if some one wanted to get himself talked about by prosecuting a leading man. In consequence, Athenian statesmen had to tread very cautiously, and were not ready to advise bold action which might be dangerous.

A state in such a condition could not be depended on to act strongly or to persevere in doing so. She might get on well in days of small troubles; but in big danger she was likely to fail. Such as she was, however, Athens was now the leader of Greece, and we find her in our next chapter acting as the centre of opposition to Philip of Macedon. But the fact is that by now the Hellenic cities had worn out their strength by continual war with each other. If a really strong power appeared, they would be too weak to offer to it any serious resistance.

Back and front of coin of Epaminondas as Theban magistrate, bearing the initial letters of his name

Front and back of a gold coin of Philip

IV. THE MACEDONIAN AGE

In Macedonia had been living for hundreds of years a number of tribes of Greek stock, though probably mixed with northern blood. The Greeks of Hellas never regarded them as pure Greeks. A race of hardy peasants, they spent their time in hunting and in fighting both with each other and with the tribes on each side of Macedonia, the Thessalians, the Illyrians, and the Thracians; they had remained mainly uncivilized, and had had no share in the growth of Greek knowledge and art. They continued to live as rude tribes under their own chieftains.

Among the families of these chiefs, one, the Argeadae, gradually became the strongest, and rose to the kingship of the whole country. In 413 B. C. one of this family, Archelaus by name, became king. He did a great deal to improve the condition of the country by building roads and cities; and he showed an interest in artists. Timotheus the musician and Zeuxis the painter were protected by him; and Euripides the tragic poet died at his court. After Archelaus' death there followed a period of disorder, during which the neighbouring tribes overran Macedonia. Out of this the Macedonians were at last delivered by Philip, who became king in 359 B. C.

Philip, who was a really great man, set himself steadily to bring his kingdom into a healthy state. As a young man he had been a hostage at Thebes, and had there

learnt all that Epaminondas had taught the Thebans about military affairs. He now applied it in improving the Macedonian army. He drove back the Illyrians and Thessalians, conquering all Thessaly in 353. He captured Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, and so obtained strong towns on the coast, and also became master of the gold-mines in that region, so that he had plenty of money for his schemes. With this money he built a fleet. Thus in a few years Macedonia had become a very strong power. Philip's ambition was to be the acknowledged leader and head of all the Greeks, and he was now powerful enough to seem entitled to the position.

The cities of Greece were as disunited as they had always been. Athens, who seemed not to have learnt wisdom from her former experience, was again treating her allies without proper consideration ; and the other states were as quarrelsome as ever. The one point in which the Greeks of Hellas were agreed was that they would not acknowledge Philip as a proper person to be a leader of Greece. He, they said, was not a genuine Greek ; and he was also a king, and no Greek would obey a king. The fact is that they did not want to be united under him or under anybody else.

Thus Philip's ambition appeared to them as a threat to their independence. One cannot say that they showed much activity in trying to checkmate Philip's growing power. But of the resistance, such as it was, Athens was the centre. And in Athens the man who was the soul of any courage that Athens showed was Demosthenes. He was a great speaker—good judges say that he was the greatest speaker that the world has known—and a true patriot. He suspected Philip's designs, and threw all his strength into the effort to rouse the Athenians to energetic resistance. He had

some success now and then; but on the whole his attempt was a failure and could be nothing else. Athens had no soldiers nor money to pay them, and by now had no generals to lead them. Demosthenes himself had no knowledge of war, and did not understand how powerful Philip was. Against the other cities of Hellas Athens might do well enough; but against the strong fresh army of Macedonia, led by a general like Philip, she was powerless, and was bound to be beaten as soon as he seriously attacked her.

The attack did not come at once. A long dragging war against Macedon was supposed to be going on from 357–346; but Philip was occupied in strengthening his power in the north, and he was not yet ready to come south. He played with Athens all this time, and Athens was even able to form an alliance with Thebes to oppose him. But as soon as Philip seriously came south, the war was finished in one battle, at Chaeronea (338). It was a fierce battle; the Thebans and Athenians fought well. But the result was a foregone conclusion. Philip was completely victorious. His armies went through Hellas as they liked. Thebes and Boeotia were added to Philip's dominions; Laconia was ravaged; Macedonian garrisons were placed in Chalcis and Corinth; and, though Athens came off very lightly, she was compelled to become an ally of Macedonia. Philip was now master of all the European Greeks, and he began to prepare for the next step that he had in mind. He wanted to lead a great Greek expedition against Persia. By freeing the Greek cities of Asia from the Persian king he would prove his title to be the head of the Greek people; and it was not at all unlikely that the Persian Empire would fall readily before him, and a Greek ruler might become master of the whole civilized world.

Philip was murdered in 336 B. C. before his preparations were completed. But he left his task to a son who was greater than himself. Alexander is one of the men to whom history attaches the title of 'The Great', and the title in this case is fully deserved. He had a wonderful career of conquest; the way in which he tried to use those conquests was even more remarkable; and the effect of his career was to change the face of the world.

TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER

Head of youthful Herakles with features of Alexander. On reverse, Zeus, father of Herakles. About 325 B. C.

He was more than a mere soldier and general, though his talent for war was extraordinary. He had been thoroughly well educated, and he had a thoroughly Greek love for knowledge and art. The sculptor Lysippus and the painter Apelles were favourites of his. His tutor was Aristotle, the most learned man of Greece, a scientist, a thinker, a man with an unlimited power of study and a genius for what is called 'analysis', i. e. for the arranging of what he knew, for the sorting out of facts into their proper classes, and for seeing how one set of facts helped one to understand another set, thus enabling knowledge to become 'systematic', well arranged, and more complete. The Greeks of Hellas would not acknowledge the Macedonians as true Greeks,

THE ATHLETE

A copy of a statue by Lysippus

Lansdowne House

but Alexander has a good right to be considered the greatest son of Greece since the age of Pericles. In him the Greek spirit lived on, and he opened the way for its widest victories.

Alexander had to spend two years in making his own kingdom safe before he could set out against Persia. In this time he overran the countries of the Thracians and Illyrians and made them submissive; he secured his position in Hellas by crushing the revolt of Thebes, destroying the city, and selling its inhabitants into slavery. Then in 334 B. C. he was ready to start. He distributed such gifts to his friends before setting out that they asked him what he had reserved for himself. 'Hope', was his answer.

Persia was still as big an empire as it had ever been and it still had the reputation that its size gave it. But its strength was gone. The king was incapable, and the army rotten. The only part of the Persian armies that fought at all well was the regiments of hired Greek soldiers; and they were not numerous enough to save the Persian forces from the ruin brought upon them by the cowardice and uselessness of the huge numbers of native troops. In consequence, Persia proved a very easy prey. The states of Hellas held off in sulky jealousy from Alexander's expedition; but none of them was by now of any account. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with an army of 35,000 men, half of whom were Macedonians, the rest being troops from Thrace, Thessaly, and the neighbouring tribes. His campaigns were a mere procession of conquest. He routed the Persian army at the battle of the Granicus (334 B. C.) and then marched through Asia Minor, freeing the Greek cities from Persian rule. Before he went farther, he had to clear the sea of possible enemies behind him. So, after again defeating the Persians at

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

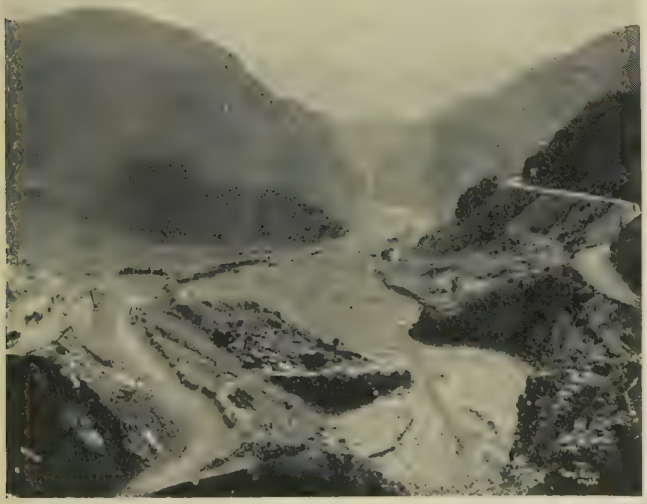
From a wall-painting at Pompeii

Issus (333), he turned south. He captured Tyre and thus robbed Persia of the Phoenician fleet. He marched down the coast, storming Gaza on the way, and entered Egypt, which he added to his realm. There he stayed some time, and founded the city of Alexandria, which soon became the chief port of the eastern Mediterranean.

A PHOENICIAN SHIP
From the sarcophagus at Sidon

In 331 B. C. he was ready to attack the Persian Empire at its heart. At the battle of Arbela he inflicted a final defeat on the Persian forces, and Darius the Persian king died soon afterwards. The great cities of the Persian Empire, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana, one after another submitted to him. His ambition still unsatisfied, he went on through Sogdiana, reached India in 327, crossed the river Indus and marched to the river Hydaspes, defeating the native armies which opposed his march. But there his soldiers refused to

go any farther. They were far from home; they had been campaigning for seven years; and they had no mind to push farther from Europe. Alexander therefore was forced to turn back. He led his army westward through the desert of Gedrosia, a terrible march of sixty days, in which he lost three-quarters of his troops.



THE KHYBER PASS
through which Alexander's army passed on its way to India
Photograph, R. B. Holmes, Peshawar

Having crossed this desert, he rested and recruited new forces; and he was no doubt planning further conquests when he suddenly died of fever in 323 B. C.

In a few years Alexander had made himself master of the biggest stretch of the world that had ever yet been ruled by one man. And, though he had but a short time, he showed plainly enough how he meant to use

his conquests. His main idea was to reconcile East and West, Europe and Asia, Greece and Persia, and to rule over a united people. He encouraged his Greek officers to marry Persian princesses, and he himself married the daughter of Darius. Wherever he went, he founded cities of the Greek type, inviting Greeks to settle in them—he is said to have founded seventy such cities—meaning them to be both fortresses to secure the loyalty of large districts and centres of trade and civilization in

THE WALLS OF MERV
One of Alexander's foundations in Central Asia

the eastern provinces of his empire. He appointed Greek governors in the provinces, but allowed the people to keep a good deal of their old ways. In everything he seems to have planned to lay the foundation of a settled empire, in which one type of civilization should prevail throughout.

This was a great idea; and the effect of Alexander's work was to change the whole history of the world. He opened the East to Greek influences. Through the gate which he opened came the Greek language and civilization in an increasing flood. Even the country districts were influenced by it, while the cities were the main centres of its power. The type of civilization was of course mixed with a good deal of the old Eastern

R. Danube
MACEDONIA
THRACE
BLACK SEA
Byzantium
CASPIAN SEA
R. Jaxartes
Thebes
Corinth
Athens
Sparta
R. Oxus
Crete
CILICIA
Cyprus
Antioch
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
PARTHIA
Cyrene
SYRIA
Ecbatana
Sidon
Tyre
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Babylon
Susa
R. Indus
Memphis
Persepolis
Pasargadae
ARABIA
PERSIAN GULF
Thebes
RED SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
THE EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
Miles
0
200
400
600

customs. The mixture is called 'Hellenistic' because it was not Hellenic, i. e. purely Greek. Alexander himself began to adopt Eastern ways, and gave great offence to his soldiers and to the Greeks of Hellas by doing so, especially when he went so far in Eastern habits as to want to be worshipped as a god. But, mixed as the civilization was, it was yet Greek in its appearance, and it followed Greek models; and so it remained. The civilization of Asia, as far as India, was of a Greek type for hundreds of years, in fact till the coming of the Arabs; even when Rome conquered Asia, she was not able, and did not try, to alter this state of things. The Roman Empire in the East was Greek in its main features.

Alexander's conquests thus proved a great civilizing agency for the old Asiatic world; and nothing can rob him of this title to fame. But, as regards the rule over this world, he had no time to settle things firmly or to provide for who was to succeed him. He had shown the world the example of one great empire covering the whole of civilized mankind. But he died before he could establish this empire. The day of one great kingdom of West and East was not yet come.

After his death Alexander's empire became the scene of incessant struggles between his generals, each trying to win the whole or most of it for himself. Out of this struggle, the peoples at last settled down into three principal sections, an African, an Asiatic, and a European. In Egypt the power was seized by a general called Ptolemy. He fixed himself firmly there, and his family reigned for two hundred years, their power growing gradually weaker, as the result of quarrels between rival claimants to the throne and war with external enemies, until Rome came and took possession of the land. The Asiatic provinces fell into the hands

of Seleucus and his descendants, and became the kingdom of Syria, which was frequently at war with Egypt, and gradually also became weaker and disunited, until Rome conquered it piecemeal. In Europe things never settled down. Macedonia remained the strongest Greek state, but, torn by unrest and strife, it was never able to master the cities of Hellas as completely as Philip and Alexander had done. Those cities led a quarrelsome and useless existence, forming leagues which never lasted or did anything really effective. Greece, and in fact the whole world of the Greek ages, was thoroughly exhausted. All these kingdoms and states were really only 'marking time', until some power came along which would be strong enough to take them over and rule them. This did not happen until the Roman state began to come eastward. So now we must go back and see what the early history of Rome had been, and how she gradually came into possession of Alexander's realm. But, before we do that, we may stop to ask what it is that the world chiefly owes to the Greeks. They taught Europe nearly all upon which its civilization rests. What then were they like, and what chiefly did they do, to be thus the teachers of the civilized world?

TETRADRACHM OF PTOLEMY II

The head is that of Ptolemy I. On the reverse an eagle on a thunderbolt. 254–247 B.C.

Aristotle [1]

Socrates [2]

Plato

V. THE GREEKS AND WHAT THE WORLD OWES TO THEM

The Greeks were not all alike, any more than the British are all alike. Athenian and Spartan were as different from each other as English and Scotch. But, in speaking of the world's debt to Greece, we can take as our special example the Athenians, and especially those of the age of Pericles. For all that is most Greek showed itself most completely at Athens, and it was in the age of Pericles that Athens produced nearly all the best things that she has given to us.

It is true also that the dwellers in one town were not all of one sort then, any more than they are now. There were stupid or vulgar Athenians, as well as clever or artistic Athenians. In speaking of what the Athenians were like, we can only think of the general 'type' of man that Athenian life produced, and we must silently allow for the fact that as some were good others were bad specimens of this type, whilst others were exceptions to it.

We may begin, then, by saying that, as the Jews have been the world's best teachers in Religion, so the Greeks have taught us best what is the nature of Beauty. Nobody who has read much Greek literature

[1] Photograph, Mansell.

[2] The gem representing Socrates is reproduced by the courtesy of Sir Arthur Evans.

GREEK SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.
Head of a goddess

or seen much Greek art has any doubt that the Greeks lead mankind in the understanding of beauty and in the power to produce beautiful work. We have no room here for many quotations from Greek literature, and even good photographs of Greek art do not show us its true quality. But let us at any rate try to understand what kind of beauty the Greeks admired and tried to produce.

(1) Greek beauty is always *simple*. The Greeks did not like finery and much decoration. Look, for instance, at the poet Simonides' epitaph on the three hundred Spartans who fell at Thermopylae: 'Stranger, tell the Spartans that we lie here, obeying their charge.' It is only two lines long in the Greek. Not a word is wasted or put in to trim up the feeling. The beauty of the soldiers' courage and devotion is left to speak for itself. Contrast with this the way in which we often splash words of praise all over our war memorials. We do not know, as the Greeks did, the art of leaving things out, and we often lose the dignity of simplicity, because we want to say something fine. The same simplicity marks all that is best in Greek literature; as, for instance, the close of Thucydides' story of the Sicilian expedition which ruined his city (it is too long to quote here), or Plato's final comment after describing the death of his friend and master Socrates: 'such was the end of our friend, a man whom we should call the best, the wisest, and the most just man of all whom we have met'. The same quality meets us in the Greek temple, perhaps the most perfectly beautiful thing that Greek art ever produced; and yet it is merely an oblong chamber with a nearly flat roof, a verandah in front, and pillars outside it. This simplicity is seen again in the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum. They represent a festival procession. At first, perhaps, the

THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

long line strikes us as monotonous. There is no forced variety to startle us. But how restful and quietly dignified it all is! Simplicity is not the only kind of beauty. There is often beauty in decoration; but decoration is often overdone. The purest kind of beauty lives in the Greek simplicity.

(2) Just as Greek art is simple, so it is always *direct.* A Greek artist says what he has to say directly and truthfully. He does not gush; he does not want to be clever or fanciful. If he describes a bird, he does not (as some of our poets do) ascribe to it all sorts of thoughts and feelings such as a human being might have. He sees the bird, and describes it as he sees it. 'Like as the sea-bird flits over the bosom of the swell, with a careless heart, the sea-purple bird of spring'; so says Alcman the poet. Such is the quality of Homer's descriptions and comparisons; and the same quality runs through all Greek pictures of nature; and it is seen in their views on life and death too. They speak of it frankly with homely truth. Their outlook sometimes strikes one as hard and unfeeling. But at least they escape the awful dangers of exaggeration or pretence, such as often spoil our modern poets' writings. The homeliness of Herodotus' narratives is as remarkable as the charm of his simplicity or his curiosity about anything and everything which he met with on his travels. The poet Wordsworth thought Herodotus 'the most interesting and instructive book, next to the Bible, which had ever been written'.

(3) Greek art is *full of work and skill.* The Greek artist attains simplicity, but not by careless workmanship. The Greek poets seem unable to write a really badly formed line. The Greek temple, simple as it is in effect, is the work of men who have measured and calculated angles and lines and worked the whole thing

WRESTLERS
A group of the third century B.C.

A RUNNER
Bronze figure of the early 5th cent. B.C., originally helmeted and holding a shield on the left arm. *Photograph, Chaundy*

DISCOBOLUS
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

out with care. So it is also in Greek sculpture. The sculptor thought no pains wasted to work on the surface of his marble so as to take away its appearance of hardness; and yet he never overdoes his labour or makes the stone seem soft and unnatural. We hear that Plato wrote and rewrote the first eight words of one of his books, so as to get them to run perfectly.

Perhaps, however, the most wonderful fact about the Greeks is that this instinct for beauty seems to have been the common property of the people, and not, as with us, the possession of a few great men who are far ahead of the rest of us. The great artists of Greece were but the chief of a people that as a whole were wonderfully able to know and to love what is beautiful. Let us try to understand how this came about. For it is quite extraordinary, and no other people has ever been like the Greeks in this respect.

(1) The people themselves were handsome; not all, of course; but the average of good looks must have been high. They ate and drank sparingly. They lived a healthy open-air life and were very fond of running, wrestling, and gymnastics. Nor did they specialize in athletics. They did not admire men who developed one set of muscles at the expense of others, as our great athletes sometimes do. Their liking was for a beauty in which all parts were evenly developed, and the general result gave the impression of balance and proportion, such a beauty as we see in their statues of gods and heroes. For beauty, especially manly beauty, of this sort, they had a very high admiration. Alcibiades found his good looks of real service to him in winning popular favour as a statesman, and Xenophon includes 'a physique outwardly comely and capable of supporting hard work' among the qualities which help a man to attain high office in the State. And, besides

GREEK EDUCATION

AN ATHENIAN SCHOOL

From a red-figured cup by the painter Duris. Fifth century B. C.

After Furtwängler-Reichhold

their looks, the dress of the Greeks was also beautiful; it hangs in graceful folds and does not cramp any of the limbs.

(2) The language also was beautiful. If you do not know Greek, ask somebody to read to you a few lines of Homer or a chorus of Aristophanes, or a few sentences of Plato. The language sings to us of itself. In *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, a novel by Henry Kingsley, a little boy who does not know a word of Greek has been listening to his tutor reciting Herodotus' account of the battle of Thermopylae; when asked what he thinks of it, 'I thought he was singing', he replies.

We must be careful not to imagine that the Athenians were a set of white-handed artists, living elegantly in delicate comfort. They lived a life of poverty, personal discomfort, and petty thrift. They could quarrel about lending each other 'salt or a lamp-wick or cummin or verjuice or meal'. When a club-dinner was held at their houses, they could 'secrete some of the firewood, lentils, vinegar, salt, and lamp-oil' contributed for the occasion. The city was never rich and, except under Pericles, her money affairs were always carried on in a hand-to-mouth fashion. Again, judged by our standards, the Greeks were not a cleanly people. The streets of their towns were dirty and insanitary, the houses were flimsy, draughty, and without drains. They wore woollen underclothing (in a hot climate), because linen required such frequent washing. Men and women alike depended mainly on the public baths for their personal ablutions, and the arrangements at these baths were simple and primitive. They used no soap, but rubbed themselves with oil, and, if necessary, scented themselves to complete the effect. One Greek writer (Theophrastus) regards great care for cleanliness as the mark of a man of petty ambition: such a man, he

says, 'will have his hair cut properly and will keep his teeth clean'. In the inventory of Alcibiades' bedroom furniture (and Alcibiades was the leader of Athenian elegance in his day) there is no hint of washing arrangements.

But it is still the fact that in artistic taste the Athenians are supreme. Beauty of body, of dress, and of speech, was all round them. The Acropolis, with its lovely marble temples and statues under the glorious Greek sunshine, was, in itself, an education in the knowledge of what Beauty really is. And all could share fully in the life. The general tone of the people was lively, intelligent, and quick witted. There were elementary schools; but in our sense of the word there was no higher education; and yet nobody need be really uneducated, and very few were so.

To begin with, every one took an interest in politics. Every one could attend the Assembly, everybody in turn had to sit on the Council or on juries (the juries were often very big; we hear of as many as several hundreds in important cases). Thus the people's wits were made keen and active. Of course this condition of things was only possible because (1) the State was not too big for all to take a personal share in its public affairs, and (2) the hours of work were not so long nor was work so strenuous as is the case nowadays. An Athenian would have his farm or his craft, or trade or profession; but he worked to make a living, and not to accumulate riches; there were frequent State holidays for religious festivals; and, when every one had at times to leave his work to do his State duty, nobody suffered unfairly by having to stop his job for such purposes, when his turn came round. There were slaves, too, to do a good deal of the dirty and uninteresting work. The slaves who worked in crafts and trades were well treated; they

worked side by side with their masters, earned money, and could earn their freedom. But the slaves who were set to gang-work, especially those in the silver mines at Laurium, had to live under abominable conditions.

Then, too, we must remember that Athenian life was largely lived in public and in the open air. Their homes were only for eating, sleeping, and entertaining. They took their rest and their leisure out of doors. Thus they had every opportunity of hearing their great men. In the Assembly, on the Council, in the law-courts, anybody might hear Demosthenes or Pericles speaking, or might have to sit next to them and work with them. Anybody might go to the public festivals and hear Homer or Pindar recited or listen to the plays of the great tragedians. Or he might go into the market-place or a gymnasium and hear Socrates or some other great man talking to any knot of people that gathered round him. And all this cost nothing. The poorest man could enjoy it free. He would even be paid for his attendance on his public duties.

Thus to be an Athenian citizen in the age of Pericles was in itself (in spite of the prevailing poverty) a good education in taste, thought, and mental quickness. How clever the Athenians were is shown by the fact that their favourite plays were great works of art; and some of the jokes in Aristophanes, as, for instance, when he blames Euripides for monotony in the rhythm of his poetry, are such as no audience could understand or see the fun of unless it was full of quick-witted people of artistic taste, who knew what was best and what was not.

Then, too, the people were so gay and happy. 'You Greeks are always children', an Egyptian priest said to Solon; and the judgement is true. The Greeks loved

the joy of life and youth, and delighted in the quickness of wit which is a sign of youth. Old age seemed to them dismal and oppressive. 'The final lot of man', says Sophocles, 'is old age, hateful, weak, unsociable, friendless, in which all evil of evil dwells.'

A RECITATION FROM HOMER

From a fifth-century jar, the shape of which is shown by the small illustration alongside

Again, however, let us be warned against supposing that the Greeks were mere triflers with a hobby for beauty. They had their serious side. In the first place, they prided themselves on practical activity. They did not pretend to be superior to the necessary affairs of life. Their great artists, like every one else, had to take part in public business. Aeschylus and

Socrates served as soldiers; Sophocles and Thucydides commanded fleets; Socrates and others served the State at home as well. The Greek artists and thinkers were not allowed, and did not want, to hold aloof from the practical affairs of ordinary men and ordinary life. The first poet of Greece to live in his study was Euripides.

Moreover, the Greeks believed that Truth and Beauty go hand in hand. So believing, they thought and thought hard. Never was speech or thought so free as among them. Euripides says that 'a slave is a man that may not speak his thought'. Euripides' writings, indeed, are almost startling for the fearlessness with which they discuss problems of religion and morality and question every accepted idea with regard to such questions. Anybody could say what he liked. Only two or three times did the Athenians prosecute a man for his opinions (Socrates is the chief case). Aristophanes, in the middle of the Peloponnesian War, could denounce the war, ridicule statesmen and soldiers, and yet win the prize for the best comedy. Thucydides, in writing the history of that war, neither tried, nor was expected, to glorify his own city wholesale and to denounce its enemies. The teachers and speakers and people of Athens were allowed entire liberty to think and to say their thoughts quite frankly.

In religion, anybody could think as he liked. Nobody was forced to worship at all, and there were all sorts of varieties of religious views. In general, however, Athenian religion was something like this: the Olympian gods, Zeus, Athena, and the rest, were the gods of the city; the city professed to believe in them and offered sacrifices to them. But, from Homer downwards, the Greeks told queer stories about them, which many men openly disbelieved; and not even Homer seems to treat

these stories as more than picturesque tales. They represented their gods like men, a little more powerful, but not otherwise different. One doubts whether—though, of course, there were exceptions—educated Greeks took these gods very seriously as objects of worship. Among the common people, no doubt, the

RUINS OF THE THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS
Photograph by Mr. Bernard Ashmole

Olympian religion was more generally accepted; but their pride in the city's gods would be, on the whole, like the pride which the people of a cathedral town take in their cathedral; in some the feeling has a religious quality; in others it is merely a feeling that the cathedral is the finest sight in the town.

The Olympian religion did not tend on the whole to make men moral or to thrill them with feelings of awe or excitement. Such feelings the Greeks got in other ways. (1) The simple country folk (and most of the Athenians lived in the country) worshipped country gods of wood and stream and hill, Pan and the Nymphs,

who were supposed at times to excite their worshippers to do all sorts of wild things. Our word 'panic' for excited fear is derived from the name of the god Pan. (2) Many went in for more exciting worships like that of Dionysus (which was a foreign religion brought from Thrace), or joined religious brotherhoods (the 'Mysteries', as they called them), which set out by ceremonies and in such ways to stir men's feelings. (3) The feeling of a sort of religious fear and awe was awaked in many men's minds by the belief in great blind Forces working in human life, to which even the gods were subject, such Forces as Fate, Envy, Doom, Chance, &c. Your only chance of escaping those Forces was to live a quiet and moderate life. If you were too rich, or too proud, or too successful, or in fact 'too' anything, you might bring them down on you, as a high tree is more likely to be struck by lightning or a tall man to be the mark for a bullet.

If we compare Greek religion with Christianity we have to say that the Greeks did not have any strong idea of God as a Person caring for each, nor of sin as something that personally hurts God. They knew that there was evil in the world; but they felt no sort of call to abolish it. All that man could do was to try to avoid the evil by careful behaviour, to enjoy the good things of life, and to bear the bad things bravely, when they came on one. A Greek asked for no higher happiness than to be healthy, fortunate, good-looking, happy in his children, and to end his life honourably. He believed that men lived after death, but that it was a ghostly and colourless life, the prospect of which would make no man feel hopeful about the future.

The Greeks were not irreligious; but their way of being religious was not ours. Socrates in some ways, and, still more, Plato, are the only Greeks in whom we

PAN
A statue from Athens

A STATUE OF ATHENE
Fifth century B.C.
Ministry of Public Instruction, Rome

find religious ideas at all like those of Christ; and Plato, in this and many other respects, is an exception to the usual Greek way of thinking. The Greeks, as a whole, looked on religion as a part of life which might add beauty or excitement or fear to existence, but not as the heart of life, which gives guidance and inspiration for all its joys or sorrows or duties.

The deepest and most serious thing in Greek life was not their religion, but their philosophy (a Greek word, meaning 'love of wisdom'). This, as is always the case, was the interest only of a few; but it had more influence in Greece than is usual elsewhere. Without help from their religion, Greek men set out to try and understand, by mere ways of reason, what the world is and what is the right way of life. Their earliest thinkers (Thales 585 B.C. and his successors) asked the question, 'What is the world made of?' They could only guess at the answer in those early days; sometimes their guesses were wonderfully clever. But they were the first to see that here is a question worth trying to answer. This was the beginning of 'Science', and all science ever since then has only been trying to answer the question which the Greeks first asked.

In the fifth century arose men called 'Sophists', who not only wrote and lectured on science, but also, and especially, put the questions, 'What is the right way to live, and how can men follow it? What rules enable you to be a good citizen, a good politician, and a good man?' Their answers to such questions were often very unsatisfactory; we can see for ourselves that you cannot live well by merely knowing rules. But in some men, for instance, in Thucydides, who had been a pupil of a celebrated Sophist, it led on to really deep and fine thoughts about how states should be governed and how

nations can be successful. The Sophists were followed by Socrates, who asked such questions as 'What is justice, truth?' and so on. He often could find no clear answers to such questions, but he forced men to face them and not to be content with any sort of answer, but to think the whole matter out thoroughly. He was a man with a passion for sincere thinking; and to this he added a burning desire to convince men of the need for good living. He was a real missionary; and the Athenians made him a real martyr. In killing him, the Athenians killed their prophet, as truly as the Jews killed theirs.

Although, as has been said, only a few men went at all deeply into these questions, yet interest in science and philosophy became fashionable in Athens. The Sophists had numerous pupils. Euripides' plays, in which the common ideas about the gods are called in question, and all sorts of hard problems about right and wrong are brought up, were plays that everybody went to see. Socrates' nearest friends were the young nobles of Athens, and they listened to him 'in order to grow into good and noble men, and learn how rightly to conduct themselves to their households and servants, their relations and friends, their country and fellow countrymen'. Such thoughts took real hold only of a few chosen souls, but the influence of such teachers as we have named was not confined only to their immediate pupils. Talk at least about such questions was fairly general; and, though their interest was often merely on the surface, the common people were at least not so stupid about ideas on morals and politics as they have often been in other lands.

Thus science and philosophy were both started by the Greeks; and, after the time of Socrates, age after age of Greeks carried both sides of the work on. In

philosophy we have Plato the pupil of Socrates, who wrote in beautiful Greek his thoughts about life and duty and beauty and truth, and how men should live and states should be governed. He is the master of all who think. Aristotle, who came after him, is the master of all who know. He took all knowledge as his province, and wrote and thought about almost every kind of scientific or philosophical subject. After him Greek influence in philosophy still goes on; we see it in the writers and teachers of the Stoics, the Cynics, the Neo-platonists, and others, who made a real effort in different ways to combine philosophy and religion; we see it too in St. Paul, who is not only a great saint and a great Christian apostle, but is also the greatest Greek thinker since Aristotle.

In science also Greece still carried on its work. Greeks of later days studied and wrote books on almost every scientific subject, on grammar, music, astronomy, geometry, medicine, mechanics, geography, agriculture; and though in modern times science has gone much beyond what they found out, yet it is to them that we owe the beginning of all these studies. There is scarcely a branch of science nowadays which does not largely use words borrowed from the Greek.

This has taken us far beyond the age of Pericles. Much of this work was not produced in Athens or in Greece at all, though it was the work of men of Greek race and Greek tongue. At Athens the life decayed after the Great Age. The city fell on evil days. The strain of unsuccessful war undermined the people's spirit, and they were no longer equal to the great life of the Periclean time. In politics, in thought, in life, they degenerated. We may, perhaps, see that under all this brilliancy of life there were dangers present. Perhaps they had thought life was more simple than it

is. They had never learnt self-control; they became deficient in sincere zeal for what is right. Dishonesty and treachery were only too common among them at all times. Having no real sense of sin, and but a weak personal religion, they never as a people rose to a strong and persistent effort to live a nobler and a deeper life of goodness. They remained clever and quick and curious about all new ideas, but they became fidgety and trifling, and ceased to be in earnest about right and wrong.

Their decay may warn us of the danger of trusting entirely to education and reason and cleverness as a guide to life. But we must none the less confess that to the Greeks we owe more than a warning. We owe them the lead in almost everything that helps to make life beautiful, and in many things that help to make it noble. We owe them eternal models of pure clean beauty in art and literature. They have given us an example of a state which believed in freedom and in the duty of every citizen to care for the way in which his state is governed and to help it to be well governed. In philosophy they have given us a model of clear and true thought, which is still the best guide to right thinking in any age. And we owe to them the picture of a happy city-life, where beauty was treated as a joy in itself, freedom as a necessity for man's true life, and truth as something to be valued and pursued for its own sake. For hundreds of years the influence of Greece lived on in the Roman world. Christianity came early enough to use that influence to good purpose. And when Europe awoke after the Dark Ages and took a great step forward in arts and knowledge, she owed her guidance and inspiration to her rediscovery of the treasures of ancient Greece.

AN ITALIAN HILL-TOWN

Photograph, Mr. R. Gardner

A copper coin (enlarged) struck by Constantine I, *c.* A. D. 330, the reverse showing the She-wolf and the Twins

PART III

ROME

I. THE GROWTH OF ROME

About half-way up the west coast of Italy lies the plain, which became known to history as the plain of Latium (the word 'Latium' may originally have meant nothing more than the 'broad' or 'open ground'). On every side except the coast it is surrounded by higher ground; hilly country lies to its north and south, while its eastern limit is the range of the Apennine mountains. The surface of this plain is broken and uneven, and hillocks rise from it here and there; but most of it lies low.

Into this plain there arrived in early days bands of people who had come into northern Italy from the Danube region, and had then continued to press down southward until they reached this district, where they settled down. These are the people whom we know as the Latins (= people of Latium). They built various towns in the plain, which seem, though each governed itself, to have maintained some sort of league or alliance with each other—the 'Latin League', as it is called.

One of these towns was built on the left bank of the river Tiber, about 15 miles from its mouth, on a group of little hills about 150 feet high. This was Rome; the Romans reckoned the year 754 B. C. as the date of its foundation. It was probably intended to guard the crossing of the Tiber against the Etruscans of the north. It was, that is to say, nothing more at first than a fortress-town on the edge of the Latin plain.

None of the Latin towns was at first of much importance in Italy. In southern Italy, Greek expeditions were founding cities like Rhegium (founded in 715 B. C.), Croton (710), Tarentum (708). These cities started with Greek civilization at their back, and quickly became rich and flourishing. They were, however, too far from Latium to interfere with the Latins; they had enough to do to maintain their position and their trade against the growing power of Carthage in northern Africa. The threat to the Latin towns lay closer at hand, in the tribes of the surrounding highlands, such as the Volscians, the Sabellians, &c., and, especially, in the cities of the Etruscan League lying to the north of the Tiber in Etruria. These Etruscans had probably come into Italy from the east. They soon became the strongest power of northern and central Italy. They were strong by sea as well as by land; and their trade and civilization developed much more rapidly than that of their neighbours.

We do not know much about the early history of Rome. The tales which the Romans used to tell about these early days—how Aeneas, flying from Troy, landed in Italy and founded Lanuvium—how, under Romulus and Remus, his descendants built Rome—how an early Roman king, Numa, was beloved of the gods—how King Tarquin the Proud insulted Lucretia and was driven out by the Roman people, and how, when he attempted

GREEK RUINS AT METAPONTUM, IN SOUTHERN ITALY

with Etruscan help to return, Horatius defended the bridge of Rome against the enemy, and, later, the gods Castor and Pollux led the Roman army to victory at the battle of lake Regillus—such tales are more exciting or picturesque than truthful. All that we know for certain is that at last Rome became the chief of the Latin cities; but it seems likely that she first began to be great when, somewhere in the sixth century B. C., she came for a time under the rule of Etruscan lords. These must have both enlarged the city and taught the Romans something of the arts and crafts of Etruscan civilization. In particular, they taught them to build great buildings and to drain their city. The *Cloaca maxima*, the great main drain of Rome,[1] probably dates from this period; Rome was thus early set to the task, which she always afterwards practised, of making great public works for the health and comfort of her citizens. Certainly it seems that the Etruscan lordship did much to make Rome the head of Latium.

The Etruscans were driven out at the end of the sixth century. But Rome got rid of her foreign masters only to have to fight for her very life. For the next 350 years her history is one of almost unceasing warfare, during which, with continual checks and perils, she gradually becomes first the head of Italy, and then the greatest state in the world. We may divide this story into three parts: (A) the wars for Italy, 500–269 B. C.; (B) the wars for the western seas, 264–200; (C) the eastern wars, 200–150.

A. The Etruscan power was now past its best days, and was weakening under the attacks of the Samnites to the south-east, and of the Kelts or Gauls from the north (these Gauls in 390 even came as far as Rome;

[1] Built originally to reclaim the marsh which existed where the later 'Forum Romanum' was situated.

The Apollo of Veii (part of a terracotta statue)
Photograph, Alinari

Bronze relief from a chariot found at Monteleone
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

ETRUSCAN ART

they captured and burnt it, but then withdrew with their plunder); on sea, also, they were being gradually ousted by the Greeks, and in 474 they were so badly beaten at sea by the Syracusans that their naval power never recovered. But Rome's most dangerous enemies were the hill-tribes, the Volscians, the Sabines, the Aequians, and (rather farther off) the Samnites. These were jealous of Rome's growing importance. They were tough enemies and gave the Romans many a bad moment, and continual practice in warfare, before she could get the better of them. The Samnites especially cost her three terrible wars (343–290). But, with the help of the Latins and the Hernicans, success always came to her in the end. By 343 she was mistress of central Italy; and in 338 the Latin League came to an end; Rome was undisputed head of Latium and the surrounding country.

Her conquest of the Samnites brought her within touch of the Greek cities of the south. Alarmed by her advance, Tarentum in 280 called in the help of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. For ten years the Romans suffered many defeats at his hands. But they obstinately refused any offer of terms, and at last Pyrrhus, finding his victories fruitless, quitted Italy in 275. The Greek cities hastened to submit to Rome, whose power thus came to extend from the river Arno to the southern coast and included all that we now call Italy, except the valley of the river Po, where dwelt Gallic tribes, whom Rome had not yet touched.

B. Rome had now reached the Mediterranean Sea. Across the straits of Messina lay the very fertile island of Sicily. Here for a long time the Greek cities had been exposed to the rivalry of the Carthaginians, who held strong positions in the west of the island. Carthage was a great city. Founded by Phoenicians from Tyre,

she had become the greatest trading city of the west. She was ruled by a clique of rich merchants. Her citizens were traders, not soldiers ; she hired her soldiers mainly from the Numidian tribes of the African country round Carthage. But her people had always been bold

A ROMAN SHIP

and skilful sailors, and her trading ships went as far as Britain in the north, and far down the west coast of Africa to the south. The growth of Rome aroused her jealousy and her fears. War between the two states became a certainty.

The two 'Punic' or Carthaginian wars lasted from 264 to 241 and from 219 to 202 B. C. The chief interest of the first lies on the sea. The land-fighting in Sicily was never decisive, and a Roman army which landed in Africa was destroyed. If Rome wanted to win, she had to beat Carthage by sea ; and to do this she

had to build an effective fleet.[1] The story of her persistence in this attempt excites one's admiration. Of course she could get some help from the Greek and Etruscan sailors. But, even so, it was a great task for a land-power to try, in the middle of a war, to turn herself into a sea-power and meet the greatest sea-power of the world; and at first all the luck was against her. She built four fleets and lost them all by battle or by storm. Fortunately for her, however, the Carthaginian government was too stupid to use its good fortune, too stingy to keep its fleet in good order, and too jealous of its great general Hamilcar to send him proper support in Sicily. Rome was thus given time to make one more effort. The State by now had no money left; so the rich men of Rome themselves built 200 ships and gave them to the State. The luck then turned. This fleet completely defeated the enemy off the Aegatian islands; and Carthage was forced to ask for peace, to save her lands from invasion.

As a result of this war, Sicily was given up to Rome and became the first Roman province. Soon after, Rome conquered Corsica and Sardinia, and so became mistress of the western seas. She also defeated a new Gaulish invasion of Italy from the north, and conquered the land as far as the Po.

But the struggle with Carthage was by no means over. Burning for revenge, Hamilcar had gained permission from his government to establish Carthaginian power in southern Spain. There for nine years he ruled almost independently, developed the resources of the country, and trained a fine army. When he died in 229 he handed on his power and his purpose of revenge to his son Hannibal. In 220 Hannibal was ready to move.

[1] She had some ships, but the Romans had never liked naval service, and the fleet was a farce.

Hannibal is one of the half-dozen greatest generals of history; and his hate of Rome was a sacred passion with him. He could not attack Italy by sea, as the Roman fleet held the mastery there. He therefore started overland with an army of 100,000 men. He crossed the Pyrenees, and marched up the Rhone, subduing or winning the Spanish and Gallic tribes on the

way. Toiling on through ice and snow amid terrible hardships, he crossed the Alps and in 218 brought his troops—only 30,000 were now left—into Italy. His march is one of the boldest and most astonishing exploits in history. But it is perhaps even more wonderful that for sixteen years he maintained his position in Italy. He repeatedly defeated the Roman armies, at the Ticinus and the Trebia, at Lake Trasimene, and at Cannae, and he never lost a battle on Italian soil. The Gauls helped him with men. South Italy rebelled against Rome, and the city was in dire danger. But luck and Roman obstinacy saved her.

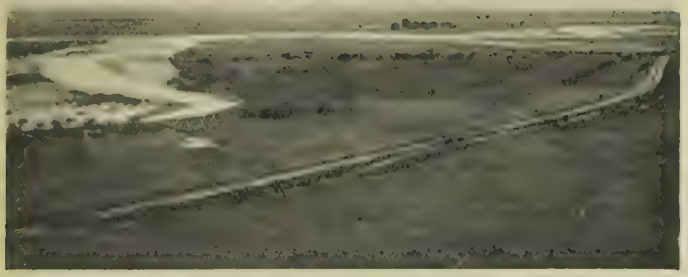
(1) Luck; for Carthage left Hannibal unsupported, and sent him neither reinforcements nor siege engines

(he had not been able to bring any with him on his march), and so he could never besiege Rome. The Roman allies also, except in the south, stood firmly by her, and did not revolt, as Hannibal had expected.

(2) Obstinacy; in the darkest hour Roman courage never gave way. Even after the terrible defeat of Cannae, where Rome lost 70,000 men, the Senate and people went out to meet the only surviving general on his return, and publicly thanked him 'because he had not despaired of the Republic'.

The climax came when, in 207, Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal, having dodged the Roman armies in Spain which were watching him, arrived in Italy with a large army to reinforce Hannibal. If the two brothers had joined forces, the outlook for Rome would have been black. But Hasdrubal's messengers were captured by Claudius Nero, who was in command of a Roman army watching Hannibal. Leaving a small force to deceive Hannibal, Nero slipped away with his main army, and joined the other Roman army; the two fell on Hasdrubal before his men had recovered from their march, and routed him at the river Metaurus, Hasdrubal himself falling in the battle. It was a brilliant stroke, and it deprived Hannibal of his last chance of reinforcements. For four more years he still held out in southern Italy; but he could do Rome no more serious damage. A Roman army landed in Africa, and he was recalled to defend Carthage. There, with a completely new army, except for the few veterans left to him, he met the Romans at Zama (202) and was utterly defeated.

This ended the war. Carthage had to submit to hard terms. Her foreign possessions were taken from her; her fleet was cut down to twenty ships; she was reduced to a small city-state, constantly harassed by the neighbouring tribes, which were encouraged by Rome to



BATTLEFIELD OF CANNAE

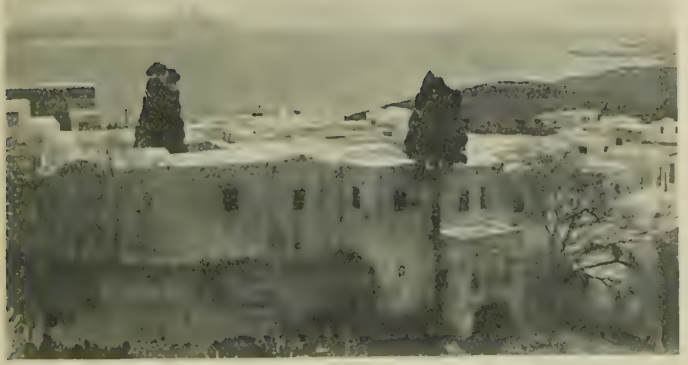
AN ADVANCED DRESSING STATION
From Trajan's Column

ravage the Carthaginian fields, so as to prevent the city from becoming rich or strong again. In 149 B. C., without any pretext except her fears of Carthage's reviving prosperity, Rome sent an army to attack the city. It held out desperately for two years, but in 146 it was captured and entirely destroyed. Historians call this the third Punic war; but it was nothing but an act of brutal oppression. It was an unworthy end to a struggle which Rome had waged with such fine heroism.

As a result of the Punic wars, Rome acquired the whole of Spain, and became supreme in northern Africa. In the next years she was also able to push her power right up to the Alps, conquering the Gaulish tribes beyond the Po. She was now the strongest power of the western world.

C. The second Punic war was scarcely ended when Rome had to turn her attention eastward. Philip, King of Macedon, and Antiochus, King of Syria, had formed an alliance. Philip was attacking Greek cities and threatening to revive the Macedonian Empire in Greece. War was declared, and Philip was soundly beaten at Cynoscephalae in 198. His ally Antiochus, after much delay, sailed with great display of force to Greece in 192, but was defeated at Thermopylae and driven back to Asia. The Romans enlisted the help of Rhodes and Pergamum, which were jealous of Syria, and twice routed the Phoenician fleet of Antiochus. A Roman army landed in Asia, and in 180 cut Antiochus' forces to pieces at Magnesia. Antiochus was forced to pay tribute to Rome and to grant their independence to the native states of western Asia. Rome at present formed no province of her own there. But, from now on, her power in Asia Minor was supreme. The Syrian kingdom began to crumble; its end only waited for the day when Rome would be ready to take it over for herself.

THE BATTLEFIELD OF METAURUS
Photograph, Miss Burton-Brown



MODERN CARTHAGE AND THE BAY
Photograph, Mr. W. A. Casson

Macedon, which under its new king Perseus was still giving trouble, was finally defeated at the battle of Pydna in 168; in 148–6 Macedonia and the whole of Greece were made Roman provinces. In the year 168 Rome also assumed sovereign rights over Egypt, to protect the land against the attempts of Syria to conquer it; the Egyptian kings were allowed to remain, but as subject-rulers under Roman authority.

Rome was now mistress of the whole Mediterranean world. She owed her success largely to her own virtues. The Roman stories of the old Roman heroes are probably inventions, but they show what kind of virtues the Romans admired. The story of Brutus (the 'Roman father') who with unmoved face ordered his own son to be executed for treason—of Cincinnatus who, when called to command an army, was found ploughing, and who returned simply to his farm after leading his army to victory—of the two Decii who rushed forward and fell first in battle, because they believed that such a sacrifice would ensure the favour of the gods to Rome—these stories may not be true; but the qualities thus held up to admiration are those which the Roman people of these early days actually displayed.

The chief Roman virtues are what they called 'gravity', the sense of dignity and sober seriousness; 'piety', the sense of duty to authority, divine or human; and 'simplicity', the power of steadfast straightforwardness in the business of life. The Roman citizen was filled with a spirit of discipline. He learnt it in his home. The father's power was absolute; and it was backed by the belief in the family gods (the *Lares* and *Penates*), who dwelt in the house and gave a sacred seal to the discipline of the home. When he grew up he carried the same spirit into his duty to the State and the State's gods. The conviction grew in the Romans that

THE APPIAN WAY

Rome was intended by heaven for a great destiny, and with this grew their pride in faithful service of the Roman State; duty and devotion to Rome was an essential part of 'piety'. To this they added a steady courage and a dour perseverance. Their generals were seldom brilliant, and their armies of unpaid citizen-soldiers were often defeated; but Rome was never beaten. This quality of unbreakable resolution is seen in every page of Rome's early story.

Above all, perhaps, Rome grew by her extraordinary capacity to hold what she won. No power, except Persia, had ever yet shown anything approaching such an ability to govern an empire effectively and to weld it into a single whole. Each district in Italy that Rome subdued became an ally of Rome, united to her by treaty. To these allies various privileges were granted, and thus they were closely bound to the fortunes of Rome. Such a policy often worked selfishly; 'divide and rule' was the Roman motto. Her allies were not allowed to be allies of each other. Nor did Rome mind treating her friends ungratefully, if they became too strong or too independent. But in general her policy was wise and generous; and she won her successes by this policy as much as by war. If she had the luck to find faithful allies in the Latins and Hernicans against the Volscians and the Samnites, and in the Italians against Hannibal, she had deserved her luck.

Rome did not trust merely to political arrangements with her allies. She built high-roads up and down Italy such as the Flaminian and Appian Ways, along which both armies and trade could pass. On these roads, at important points, she founded 'colonies', i. e. cities in which the citizens, whom she settled there, were united by special ties of loyalty and privilege to Rome. These colonies served both as military garrisons

and as centres of Roman influence. Thus with Roman power went Roman customs of law and government, Roman trade, Roman habits, and Roman buildings. Her allies gradually became 'Romanized', i. e. their life began to shape itself after Roman models. We must note this fact, for it is seen right through Roman history. When Rome began thoroughly to apply in her overseas provinces the same policy as she had used in Italy, the great days of the Roman Empire began. The chief achievement of Rome was that she first showed the world how a great united empire could be held and governed. The first stage in this work was the process by which she united Italy under her sway, and made the whole peninsula a Roman country.

Italian soldiers of the present day marching over the ground where Hannibal defeated Flaminius. A photograph of the Italian Army Manœuvres near Lake Trasimene, 1926

Photograph, The Keystone View Co.

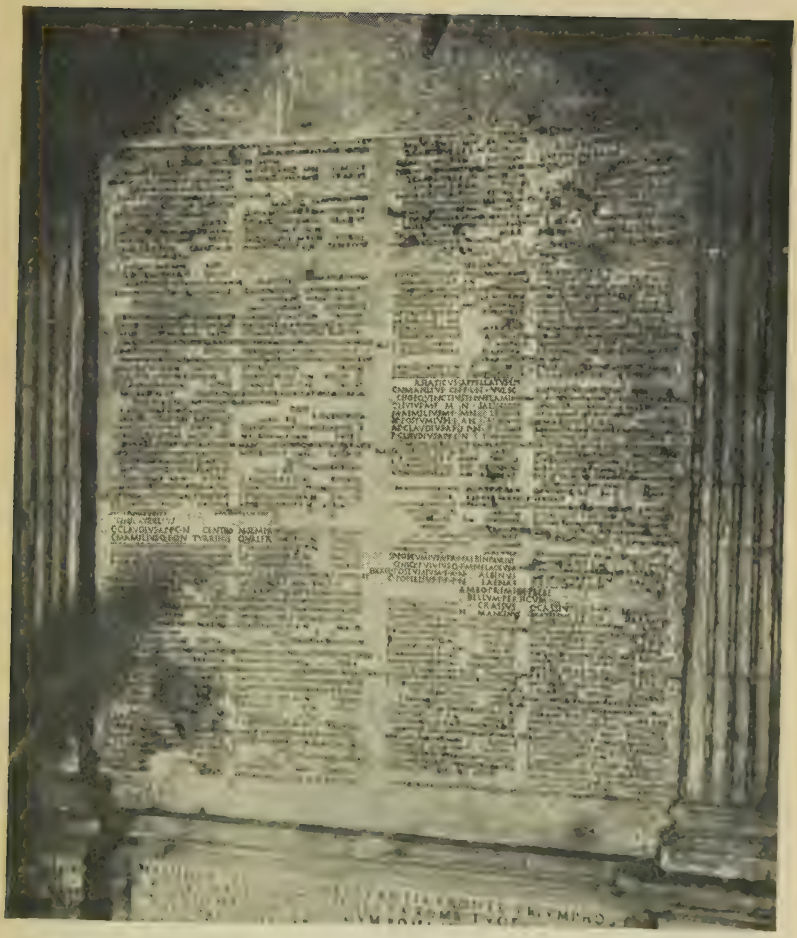
II. THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

In its early days Rome was ruled by kings, with the help of a council (the Senate), whose members were drawn from the greater families, 'the patricians'. The rest of the citizens were called the *plebs* or 'the plebeians'. Patricians and plebeians together made up the 'Roman people' (the Latin word is *populus*), which met for certain purposes in a general Assembly under the presidency of the King. All real power was in the hands of the King and the Senate.

But when the Etruscan lords were driven out the Romans determined to have no more kings in Rome. They became a Republic; in place of a king two chief magistrates, called 'consuls',[1] were elected by the Assembly. These held office for a year, and were not allowed to be re-elected. To these consuls was given the *imperium*, which meant complete control of the religious, military, and home affairs of the State. The only checks on their power were (1) that each could forbid any action of the other, (2) that they were expected to consult the Senate. The Assembly had very little power, except that of electing the magistrates.

As time went on, other magistrates of lesser rank were appointed for special parts of the work which once had all been done by the consuls. Such were the 'praetors', appointed to preside over the law-courts;

[1] Originally 'praetors'; then, as other praetors were appointed, the two chief magistrates came to be distinguished by the title 'consuls'.



A list of Consuls, once in the Forum, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori

the 'quaestors', to manage the treasury; the 'aediles', to see after town works, drains, streets, &c. All these officials, whose number increased as the city grew, were elected by the Assembly, each for a year's term of office.

At first none but a patrician could be consul; and no patrician might marry a plebeian. But the plebeians, who formed the majority of the citizens—and every citizen had to serve in the army, when required—came in time to resent these distinctions and to claim for themselves a position of more equality with the patricians. This claim was stubbornly resisted for a long time; but step by step the plebeians won their way, and the patricians had to grant to them one privilege after another.

Thus (1) in 494 B. C. a special plebeian magistracy was created, namely the two[1] 'tribunes of the *plebs*', elected by the *plebs*, who were given the right to summon meetings of the *plebs*. They could not propose new laws, but they might forbid anything that any other magistrate did or proposed; and they might rescue a plebeian from oppression within the city. Moreover, their office was declared 'sacrosanct', i. e. it was publicly acknowledged to be a crime against religion to lay hands on them during their year of office. These magistrates gradually became more and more important, until in 287 a law was passed giving to all decisions of the plebeian assembly ('plebiscites', as they were called) the force of law, on an equality with the laws passed by the full Assembly of the whole people.

(2) In early days the laws of Rome had not been written down. Nobody knew for certain what they were, and the patricians could make use of this ignorance to gain their own ends against the plebeians. But about

[1] In later days the number rose to ten.

450 B. C. the first written collection of Roman law (the 'Twelve Tables') was drawn up. Not long after, marriage between patricians and plebeians was allowed.

(3) In 367 B. C. it was resolved, not only that plebeians could be consuls but that one consul must be a plebeian.

Thus the distinctions between the two classes were done away, so far as all political privileges were concerned; and, since in theory the Assembly of citizens was supreme, and all laws had to be passed by the Assembly, Rome might now have become a complete democracy. But in practice this never happened, and the reason was as follows. Rome was in the thick of continual war. Her magistrates held office only for a year, and the consuls had to spend most of their time commanding armies in the field. The Senate was composed mainly of the men who had been magistrates; and the Senate never went out of office. Thus the Senate was the body in Rome which possessed the knowledge that came of experience. In time of trouble every one looked to it for guidance. Hence the influence of the Senate grew at the expense of the magistrates and of the Assembly; and on the whole the Senate, during the Punic Wars, acted with such spirit and vigour that it deserved the authority which it acquired.

But, after the strain of the great wars was past, we find that a change for the worse comes over the Roman people.

(1) The growth of Roman power and Roman victories in war brought a tremendous amount of new wealth into the city. The trading class grew rich (this class was called the *equites* or knights) and wanted a share in the honours of the State. But the Senators clung jealously to their position and did all that they could to prevent new men from rising to office and entering the Senate.

The struggle between patricians and plebeians was ended; but its place was taken by jealousy between the members of the families who had attained senatorial rank and the rich merchant class, and this jealousy was a fruitful source of trouble in the State.

(2) The people as a whole lost their old virtues. The constant wars took away, often for years, the fathers of families, and thousands died in battle; as new provinces were acquired, permanent armies became necessary to hold them, and many men took to soldiering as their life's occupation. In consequence, home life decayed and the home training of children was neglected. In the country districts farms fell vacant, because there were not enough men to work them. The lands were bought up by rich men and turned into pasture land, worked by gangs of slaves, thousands of whom were brought to Italy as captives taken in war. The influence of these slaves on the Roman people was thoroughly bad. Not only did the Romans learn to leave all country-work to them, but, if we may judge from Roman writings such as the plays of Plautus, the effect of slavery was to turn the average slave into a liar and a thief. Then, too, as the country-side emptied, the poor peasants and labourers, who could not earn a living any longer, flooded into Rome to live there. But in Rome there was not enough work to employ more than a very few of them. Thus they became an idle town-mob, living by odd jobs, robbery, or begging, or by selling their votes in the Assembly to any one who would pay for them. And this mob was the Assembly of the Roman people. Rome never invented a system of representatives, such as we have in England; the only votes that counted were those of citizens actually present, and this in practice meant the mob of Rome. They were the people who voted the laws for a State which was

TYPES OF THE ROMAN ARMY

From the base of the column of Antoninus, Rome

Photograph, Hanfstaengl

becoming mistress of the world. It was not likely that they would do it well, wisely, or honestly.

(3) As Rome acquired provinces she had to rule them. But Rome was wedded to the system of annual magistracies, and tried to apply it to her provinces too. It became the custom that men who had served the praetorship or the consulship at Rome should then go out and govern a province for a year. This term of office in the provinces could be extended by special vote, and often was extended to two or three years; but one year was the regular term. This meant that the governors had no chance of getting to know the provincials whom they governed. Too often they used their power to enrich themselves by ruthlessly squeezing the provincials, trusting to extort enough money to be able to bribe their judges, if the provincials or any one else prosecuted them on their return; for the law-courts at Rome had become thoroughly corrupt, and the senators who sat on the juries expected to feather their own nests out of the bribes they received. The taxation of the provinces was generally let by auction to rich men at Rome, who paid a lump sum down, and then extracted as much from the province as they could or as the governor would allow them to extract; and this again was often settled by bribery. In fact, an honest Roman governor was a rarity. Those were unhappy days for the provinces of Rome. They had no chance of rebellion; Rome was too strong; but they had every chance of being ruined.

The truth is that the old Roman system of government by annual officials was in itself quite unsuitable for the management of a big overseas empire. The fact that the Senate and people had largely lost their old qualities only made the mischief more apparent; in any case the Roman Republican system would not have been

able to stand the strain now put upon it by the growth of Rome's possessions. The next hundred years of the history of the Republic show plainly that no mere patching of the system would be enough. Nothing less than the creation of a new system could really do what was needed to ensure good government of Rome and Italy and the provinces.

The first efforts at reform were made by two brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, men of good birth and education, of high and noble character and generous ideas. An interval of ten years lies between them, and their objects were not entirely the same. But both were reformers; and both suffered the fate of only too many reformers. Tiberius chiefly desired to lessen the surplus population in the city, and to revive farming, by giving land to needy Romans and Italians, taking away from the rich the 'common land' (i. e. land really belonging to the State), which they had seized for themselves without any right. Gaius' chief object was to extend the privileges of the Roman citizenship to the Italian allies, with whose help Rome had won her successes in war. He also proposed to lessen the powers of the Senate by allowing the *equites* to sit as jurymen in the law-courts. These proposals, wise and well meant as they were, ended in hopeless failure. The rich objected to giving up the lands they had taken, the Senate to the diminution of their own powers, the people to the extension of citizen rights to the Italians. The two brothers were murdered in riots, Tiberius in 133, Gaius in 121. All that they effected was: (1) they brought to a head the jealousy between the Senate and the *equites*; (2) to try and enlist the people on their side, they passed a measure to sell corn cheaply to the poor of Rome. This remained in force after their deaths, and eventually the corn was given free; and the result was to make the

mob of Rome still more idle and unruly, since they had no need to work for their food. The Italian allies were eventually granted the citizenship, but only as the result of a civil war in 90 B.C., which so frightened the Senate and people that they hurriedly granted this demand, which till then they had obstinately refused.

But the worst effect of the fate of the Gracchi was that all could see why they had failed. They had failed because they had tried to depend on the Assembly, and had had no army to support them. It became clear that only military force could effect anything; and men soon appeared who were ready to apply the lesson.

The first of such men was called Marius. Under the stress of a long weary war against the Numidians (112–106), and of the terror caused by the invasion of the German tribes called the Cimbri and Teutones, who were on the move in the north and defeated four successive Roman armies that were sent against them (113–105), Marius, who was the favourite of the people, was appointed to the consulship and re-elected no less than six times. He finished off the Numidian War, and destroyed the barbarian hordes at Aquae Sextiae (102) and at Vercellae (101). He was now all-powerful in Rome. The army regarded itself as his army rather than the Senate's; it looked to him to get for it pay and pensions, and was ready to help him to do whatever he liked. Marius used his power merely in order to help his own friends and to attack the Senate. Rioting, murder, and disorder increased in Rome.

Against Marius and his faction (Marius himself died in 86) there arose another military leader, called Sulla, who had made his fame by a special command in Asia. In 83 B.C. he landed with his troops in Italy, and determined to destroy the Marian party. The horrors which followed were never forgotten. 5,000 people were

massacred, and many more fled; all the property of these people was confiscated. Marius, in the time of his power, had raged like a wild beast against his enemies. Sulla, more cool and therefore more dangerous, set about his work of butchery with a cold thoroughness which was far more terrible. He then passed laws to increase the powers of the Senate, and, having done this, he calmly retired into private life; he died a year after.

No sooner was he dead than many of his arrangements were overthrown. There followed years of disorder and uncertainty. Some men, like the great orator Cicero, tried to bring about a better feeling between the Senate, the *equites*, and the Italians, and to re-establish decent order and government by such means. But the Senate was too narrow-minded and selfish, and the *equites* too jealous, to unite in this way; and the Italians had no strength, so long as the mob of Rome was treated as the Assembly of the people. Marius and Sulla, moreover, had given an example of the power which military commanders could gain; and this example was quickly followed.

POMPEY. From a denarius struck about 37 B.C. by a supporter of his son, Sextus Pompeius

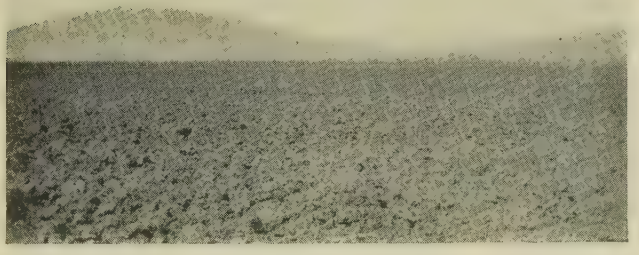
The next pair to rise by the help of their armies were Pompey and Caesar. Pompey had made his name by special commands in the East (67–62 B. C.). But he was a man of limited abilities; he had neither the decision nor the talent to know how to use his position and his fame in order to make himself respected or feared.

Caesar, who rose to prominence somewhat later than Pompey, is perhaps the most remarkable man that has ever lived. As a young man he had led a wild and extravagant life. But, once he set himself to achieve greatness, he showed himself a brilliant general, a great writer, a man of clear sight and purpose, of courage and personal charm, a man who knew how to wait, but knew what he was waiting for; above all, he showed an extraordinary genius for politics; of all the Romans, he was perhaps the only one who really understood what the Republic was suffering from, what the Roman world needed, and the conditions by which alone the good government of that world could be effected.

We need not follow the complicated story of the rivalry between Pompey and Caesar which occupies the years 63–48 B. C. At first they were allies; then Caesar went to Gaul (58), as governor, while Pompey remained in Rome; as Caesar's fame increased and his ambitions grew clearer, the two men gradually drifted into a rivalry which at last (49) led to civil war between the two. Caesar mastered Italy very rapidly, and Pompey retreated to Greece and gathered his forces there, while Caesar was engaged in a severe, though short, campaign against Pompey's lieutenants in Spain. He was then free to follow Pompey into Greece. After a long period of skirmishing and manœuvring, the armies met at Pharsalus (48). Pompey was completely defeated. He fled to Egypt and was murdered there. Caesar spent two years in subduing the remains of opposition in Egypt, Asia, Greece, Africa, and Spain. He then returned to Rome in 45, the sole master of the Roman world.

Before we go on to see what resulted, we may turn back to notice one effect which followed from the lives and careers of these various generals; namely, the great extension of the Roman Empire abroad. Each of these

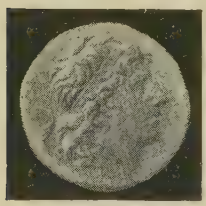
military leaders used his period of command in order to gain fame and to train his army, so that with it he might return to Rome and assert his claim to power. Province after province was thus added to the Roman dominions. Marius' conquests of the Numidians and the Gaulish tribes had led to a great extension of Roman power into



THE BATTLEFIELD OF PHARSALUS
Looking towards Pompey's position from Palaeopharsalus
Photograph, Mr. F. L. Lucas

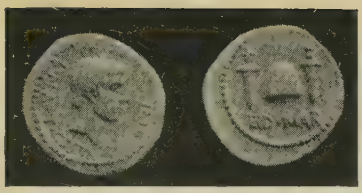
Africa, Liguria, and southern Gaul. Narbo, in south Gaul, was the first Roman 'colony' to be founded outside Italy (118 B. C.). During his nine years in Gaul Caesar conquered the rest of the country up to the English Channel and the Atlantic, and settled the Roman frontier at the Rhine. He even visited Britain and won some successes against the tribes in the south of the island. In the East, the last King of Pergamum, dying in 133, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, which formed out of it the Roman province of Asia. Then from 114–66 the Romans were at war with Mithradates, King of Pontus, and his ally Tigranes, King of Armenia. The war was a terrible one; Mithradates won many successes, and at

one time overran all Asia Minor. Three great Roman generals, Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey, in turn had to exert all their efforts to repel him. But at last he was defeated and committed suicide. As a result, Syria, Judaea, Cilicia, and Bithynia were taken over by the Romans, who thus acquired, either as provinces or as subject-allies, the whole of Alexander's eastern empire as far as the Euphrates. This was practically the farthest limit eastward to which the Roman Empire ever reached. Beyond the Euphrates lay the great kingdom of Parthia with which henceforth the Roman Empire was to have constant conflict.



Mithradates

All these conquests, however, could not save the Republic. They were the work of generals and their armies, rather than of the Roman Government. When Caesar assumed the position of sole ruler at Rome, the situation was as follows: Italy and the world needed peace and good government. The Roman Republic could not supply the need. The Senate cared only for its selfish interests; the Roman mob was quite untrustworthy. The custom had arisen of military leaders with their armies pursuing their own ambitions and using their power to establish their own authority at the expense of the Republic. If Caesar followed the example of Sulla and others, the only result would be further disorder and strife, in which the Roman world would probably sink into ruin, all the treasures of civilization would be destroyed, and Europe would relapse into savagery. Humanly speaking, the future of the world depended on the use which Caesar made of the power which he now held. Never did any one man have a greater opportunity of doing good or harm which was bound to affect the whole of civilized mankind.



Coin commemorating the death of Caesar

III. THE AUGUSTAN AGE

Caesar was only allowed a short period of rule. He had returned to Italy early in 45 B.C. On 15 March 44 he was murdered in Rome by a gang of conspirators, some of whom were offended because he had refused favours to them, whilst others were honestly angry because his rule was contrary to the republican system, and they thought that he was aiming at becoming king. But in those few months Caesar had time to show on what lines he intended to rule the world. The influence of his example lasted on, and when his heir, Octavian, took the work up, he followed in many respects the principles which Caesar had laid down.

The main achievements in Caesar's work were two. (1) He showed that he meant to govern as sole ruler, by his personal authority. He made the Senate appoint him 'dictator'. This was an office which in past days had been conferred in special times of danger, when it seemed necessary that for a while all the powers of the State should be placed in the hands of a single man. Caesar held the dictatorship up to his death, and made it plain that in his opinion the permanent rule of a single man was necessary in order to secure good government.

(2) He used his power for no party ends. He had no favourites. He did not copy Sulla's example, but treated all parties fairly and generously, and tried to win men of all sorts to his support. He reformed the

army, the navy, the treasury, and the law-courts, and showed that he intended to restore good order and government for the general good.

The murder of Caesar led to fourteen years' almost continuous disorder and civil war. This war was in one respect the dying spasm of the Republic. But the only man of ability who honestly believed that the Republic might yet be saved was Cicero. With real boldness and courage he tried to stir the Senate to act bravely and straightforwardly. But he failed, and could not but fail, and he paid the penalty of failure by being murdered. The true issue of the war was simply who should rule the Roman State. The two claimants were Antony, one of Caesar's officers, and Octavian. For a time they worked together, Antony ruling the East and living in Egypt, Octavian ruling Italy and the West. But gradually they drifted into enmity. At last, at the battle of Actium (31 B. C.), Antony's forces were completely defeated by Octavian's. Antony killed himself, and Octavian, whom we know better under the name of Augustus, took up Caesar's task.

Octavian had not the breadth or height of Caesar's genius. But he had the advantage of being Caesar's grandnephew and adopted son, and he possessed some qualities which peculiarly fitted him for the work he had to do. He had a cold and calculating heart; he never let his feelings carry him away; he had no wild enthusiasms; he never mistook show for reality. He cared nothing for military display, and knew that peace and good order was that which the world most needed. He was extraordinarily cautious and prudent; he pursued his aims quietly, and never tried to force his way by showy actions. He had a clear and orderly mind; he left no parts of his task to chance, and nothing that he took up remained half-finished.

CAESAR AUGUSTUS

Photograph, Anderson

All these gifts he brought to the work of framing a satisfactory system of government for the Empire; and that he did this work well is proved by the fact that the system which he built up lasted for hundreds of years. He was fortunate, too, in his two chief ministers, Agrippa and Maecenas. Both were men of first-class abilities, the first in military, the second in political affairs; and both served him with loyalty and devotion.

Let us try, then, to understand the main features of Augustus' (we will call him by his best-known name) work. At Ancyra (which is now called Angora) has been found a temple, on the walls of which is engraved a copy of the record, which the Emperor himself drew up at the close of his life, of all the most important things which he had done. This record is called the Ancyran Monument. We shall make some quotations from it, as we proceed.

Augustus' system was an extraordinarily clever combination of real monarchy with republican forms. It was necessary that all effective authority should be in his hands. This he secured mainly in two ways. (1) He held the consulship for seven years, but he gave it up in 23 B. C., and contented himself with the tribunician power,[1] which in 36 had been given to him for life. This grant made him 'sacrosanct', and gave him all the power inside Rome that he needed. (2) He was perpetual supreme head of all the armies. All the soldiers took the oath of obedience to him, and he taught them to look to him for pay and pensions.

In practice, then, as he was master of all the military forces, his power overshadowed all others, and everybody looked to him for the final word in any matter. To

[1] He could not be actually tribune, as he was of patrician family; but he was given the full power of a tribune, without actually holding the office.

A PART OF THE MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM

deal with all the business which thus came upon him, he began to appoint not senators but *equites*, to act as clerks and permanent officials in his own service. This was the beginning of a kind of Civil Service, the members of which were permanent and did not go out of office after a year, like the ordinary magistrates.

Thus, of course, in actual fact the powers of the Senate and magistrates were much reduced. But in all outward ways Augustus did his best to conceal this. He was careful not to set himself up as king, nor even as dictator. He was *imperator*, and from this word our word 'emperor' is derived; but in Latin it was the title of any holder of 'imperium', and did not imply the possession of despotic power; it was given to Augustus as head of all the Roman armies. The only special titles which he assumed were *princeps* (=chief citizen), and, later, *Augustus* (=venerable); the latter, with the family name *Caesar* (from which are derived 'Kaiser' and 'Czar'), became the regular title henceforth for all emperors; but both these were only titles of honour (like 'His Majesty' for our king), and not names of offices.

In outward form, too, the republican system still continued. The Assembly still elected the magistrates; but actually nobody could take office unless the Emperor approved the choice of him. The Senate still discussed; but actually the Emperor's voice decided what should be done. The magistrates still held office; but actually they could not act against the Emperor's will. Finally, Augustus never spoke as though his heir (he had no son) were bound to succeed him; the theory was that at his death all his powers would revert to the Senate and people and would have to be conferred anew on his successor. In practice, however, the Emperor tried so to arrange things that the choice could not but fall on

THE TOMBSTONE OF A ROMAN POLICEMAN
belonging to the VIth cohort of vigiles (see p. 168)

the one whom he marked out to follow him. In outward form, then, the system was one of partnership between Emperor and Senate. In actual fact, the Emperor, because he had all the armies, was so much the chief partner that the system was a real monarchy. But the republican form was intended to keep the Romans quiet; if the realities of the monarchy were not too openly paraded before their eyes, they would be less likely to hanker after the old system.

Augustus' power, then, was practically unlimited. Let us now see how he used it: (1) in Rome and Italy, (2) in the provinces.

1. To Rome and Italy his first gift was the restoration of peace. This in itself was a cordial to the exhausted country, which during the years of civil wars had been gradually slipping headlong to ruin. Peace once assured, Augustus set himself to the work of restoring prosperity. 'I repaired' (he says in the Ancyran Monument) 'the channels of the aqueducts which were in many places falling into decay . . . in the Marcian aqueduct I doubled the supply of water. . . . I remade the Flaminian Way as far as Ariminum and also all the bridges . . .' At a later date Augustus took over the permanent oversight of the roads and public works in Italy. Commonplace tasks, but what a difference this must have made to the condition of the country. He rebuilt old towns and built new ones. He says that he 'established 28 colonies in Italy, with large and prosperous populations', and so he provided for the time-expired soldiers, who previously had drifted into Rome or had wandered about the country, discontented, riotous, and ready to serve anybody who wished to disturb the order of Italy. He cleared the public roads of brigands and runaway slaves and the sea of pirates, and he encouraged the Italian towns to appoint proper town officials to manage

ROMAN GLADIATORS
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

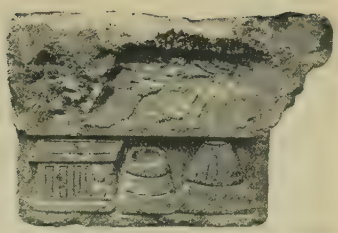
A NAVAL SHAM FIGHT
From a painting at Pompeii

their affairs. Thus the trade and prosperity of Italy revived.

At Rome, too, Augustus was careful to restore order. He strengthened the police and the fire-brigade. He secured a regular supply of free corn for the poor of the city, whilst—having taken all political power from the Assembly—he kept the people in good humour by games and distribution of money. He records that he gave shows of gladiators (men, usually slaves or captives, who were set publicly to fight one another with weapons, until one killed or conquered the other) eight times, of athletes three times, games twenty-seven times, besides re-establishing the annual Martial games, public wild-beast hunts twenty-six times, and a naval sham fight on an artificial lake once; whilst he gives a list of the large sums that he expended in 'doles' to the people. He also built or rebuilt so many temples and other buildings in the city that he could boast, with good cause, that he 'found Rome brick and left it marble'. He names the Senate house, porticoes, a basilica (a public building for meetings or law-courts), two theatres, the *Forum Julium*, and the *Forum Augusti* (a forum is practically a paved square, where business of all sorts was done in the open air), and seventeen temples; and he adds that beside these he repaired eighty-two other temples whose names are not given.

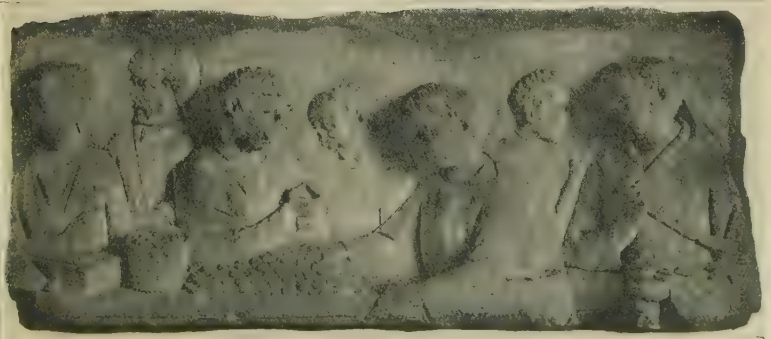
2. In the provinces Augustus' work was twofold, that of government and that of defence. (*a*) The republican system of government had proved a bad one. Augustus reformed it by dividing up the provinces into two classes. The older and quieter provinces were still governed by annual magistrates, as they had been under the Republic. But in the newer provinces, especially in those on the frontiers, where large Roman armies had to be kept, the Emperor himself appointed governors of his own

1. A. Selling turnips or peas
B. Hoeing and digging



2. Implements for making wine or cider. (*Soc. Arch. de Sens*)

3. A business man and his peasant customer



4. Banking. (*Provinzialmuseum, Trier*)

selection (their title was *legatus Augusti* = delegate of Augustus), who stayed there as long as he kept them at their posts; being chosen by him, and expecting any reward or promotion from him only, they were more likely to be loyal. Augustus also regulated the taxation which each of the provinces had to pay, so that the provincials would know what was expected from them and were not at the mercy of the tax-gatherers. If they were unjustly treated, they could appeal to the Emperor, who would see justice done. There was now, as there had never been under the Republic, a single authority strong enough to bring any governor (in either class of province) to book, if he acted oppressively or neglected his duty.

(*b*) Outside the limits of the Empire there were in the East the Parthians, and in the North and West the barbarian tribes, who had more than once invaded Italy, and who were often on the move and likely to attack the Empire, if they were given a chance. Against these Augustus framed carefully a system of defence of the frontiers. In the East he fixed the boundary of the Empire at the Euphrates, and, though one later emperor, Trajan, tried to push Roman power beyond that limit, his conquests were given up by his successor, and the Euphrates remained the eastern frontier of the Empire. In Europe Augustus eventually settled that the boundary should be the lines of the rivers Rhine and Danube. At one time he tried to push his armies forward from the Rhine to the Elbe, but a terrible defeat of a Roman army by the Germans in A. D. 9 convinced him that it was unsafe to go beyond the Rhine. On the Danube frontier he had in A. D. 6 to suppress revolts in the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia; but he had no desire for further conquests. His policy for the frontiers was a cautious one; and that it was wise is shown by the fact that no later emperors

made any noticeable alteration in it. The only provinces that were added to the Roman Empire after Augustus' time were Britain, which was a kind of outlying part of Gaul, Dacia, and Thrace, which rounded off the Empire on the Danube line, Cappadocia in Asia, and Mauretania

THE INSCRIPTION TO CLAUDIUS ON THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN, BUILT INTO THE BARBERINI WALL

Photograph, Mr. P. Hart

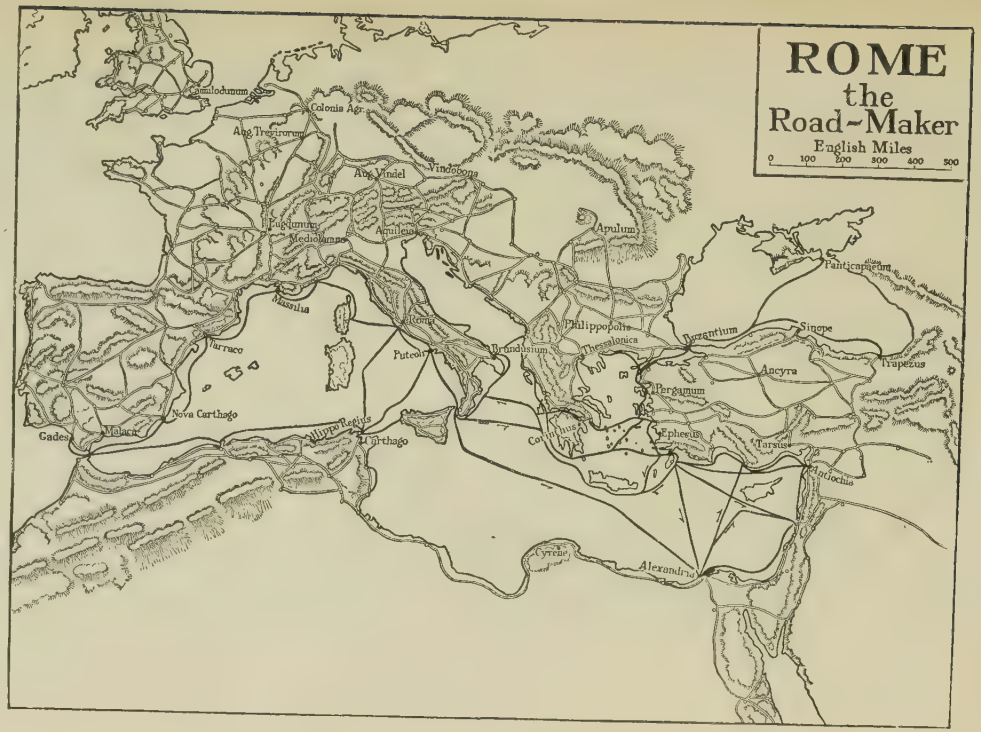
in Africa, which were already dependent on Rome, and were only changed into provinces for purposes of convenience in ruling them. (Trajan's conquests in the East, as has already been noted, were shortlived.)

It is the great glory of the Roman Empire that it not only protected civilization from the attacks of the barbarians outside its borders, but also within its borders developed and civilized the provinces which it ruled. The very best work of the Empire was done in the provinces. In the East, of course, civilization had existed for a long time, and all that Rome did was to

take over and carry on the work which the Persian and the Hellenistic kings had been doing before. In the West, however, Rome was the first civilizing agency that had appeared ; and it did this work so well that Spain, Gaul, and even parts of Britain became as Roman in many things as Italy itself was ; and some of the best Latin writers of the Empire were born and bred in the provinces.

This civilizing work Rome carried on by the same means as we have already seen her using in Italy in earlier days. Main roads were driven all over the provinces. It is worth while to look at a map of the main Roman roads, and to think how great an influence they must have had in making travel, trade, and communication easy. 'Colonies' were founded in many parts of the Empire, which set a model of Roman ways and were centres of Roman influence. Augustus tells us that he established colonies of old soldiers 'in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, in both Spanish provinces, in Achaia, Asia, Syria, Narbonese (or southern) Gaul, and Pisidia'. Later emperors continued the same policy. In Britain, for instance, there were, later, Roman roads from the Dorset coast through Cirencester and Leicester to Lincoln and York, from Chichester through London and Lincoln to York, and from Dover through London to Wroxeter and Chester, while Colchester, Lincoln, York, Gloucester, and Chester were colonies.

The building of these colonies set an example. Towns of Roman type sprang up everywhere, each governed by its town officials and town or district council, after the Roman model. The town councils and rural district councils of Western Europe, and all that we mean by 'municipal life', are directly descended from the system of the Roman Empire. Roman law gradually spread, and schools for education and guilds


ROME
the
Road-Maker
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Camulodunum
Colonia Ag.
Aug. Treverorum
Aug. Vindel
Vindobona
Lugdunum
Mediolanum
Aquileia
Apulum
Massilia
Roma
Philippopolis
Thessalonica
Byzantium
Sinope
Panticapaeum
Tarraco
Brundusium
Ancyra
Trapezus
Pergamum
Nova Carthago
Gades
Malaca
Hippo Regius
Carthago
Ephesus
Tarsus
Antiochia
Cyrene
Alexandria

for workmen were established on Roman lines. There was plenty of diversity in different places. Rome was always ready to allow the old customs and the old religions of the tribes in its provinces. But the work of Romanization went on; and the influence of Rome steadily developed the resources, the crafts, and the commerce of the provinces. She taught the provincials to work their lands and minerals, to manufacture and to trade, as well as to manage their own town and district affairs.

Augustus' system was a wonderfully well-contrived piece of machinery. But he knew that such a machine could not run satisfactorily unless there was a spirit of loyalty and good order and decent living in the people themselves. We must now see what he did to foster such a spirit.

In Rome and Italy, besides passing laws to forbid certain vices, and especially to encourage stricter views about marriage, he set himself to promote a revival of religion. The old religion of the home, which had been such a good influence in the Rome of olden days, was now largely gone, and only survived in quiet and old-fashioned families in the country. The old State religion, with the State gods, Jupiter, Mars, and the rest, had ceased to be believed in by anybody. In its place had come in various religions from the East, which had become very popular with the common people; these were exciting, but they did not have any effect in making people live good lives. Augustus tried to revive the State religion. He tells us, as we have seen, that he repaired the old temples of the gods, and built new ones. But all this did no good. The old Roman virtues had gone, and the moral and religious condition of Rome, and, in a less degree, of Italy too, was and continued to be very low. The common people

PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES OF ISIS

found nothing to reform them until Christianity took a real hold amongst them. The educated people were saved to a certain extent by the growth of a kind of philosophy, called Stoicism, which they learnt from Greek teachers; this taught men to live decently and to respect themselves, to bear evil bravely, to be just and, in a way, considerate. It became the fashionable type of thinking among the higher classes of Rome, and did something to keep nobler ideas alive among them until Christianity was able to take up the work.

In the provinces Augustus encouraged the foundation of a new religion, the worship of 'the Genius Augusti' (this means the Divine power guarding the Emperor). This in time became nothing else but the worship of the Emperor himself. In the East such a religion was readily welcomed. The oriental peoples had always been accustomed to treat their rulers as gods. From the East this worship spread into Italy and the western provinces. Its influence here was perhaps more political than religious; it did not help men to live good lives, but it gave them a feeling that the Empire was under the protection of heaven, a power ordained of the gods, and so it encouraged in them a kind of religious loyalty to Rome. For 200 years this 'Caesar-worship' was a real force in the Roman Empire, especially among the common people. In more educated circles the influence of Stoicism was strong, in the provinces as in Rome. In the army a new Eastern religion, called Mithraism, grew and became very powerful; and this, unlike the other Eastern religions of the same type, did try to some extent to teach men to live decent lives.

In general, however, we may say that the Roman world had to wait for Christianity before it got a religion which taught men both to believe in a good God and to see that good living was a necessary part of such a belief.

These, then, are the main points in the system of empire which Augustus built up. Its weaknesses are fairly clear. (1) The Emperor's power depended on his command of the armies. So long as he was wise and strong, this was no great drawback. But, if the Emperor

A relief showing Mithras sacrificing the bull. Around, the signs of the Zodiac; above, to left and right, the sun rising and the moon setting. Below, two wind gods

Photograph, Mr. Bernard Ashmole

was weak or foolish and unable to keep his generals and his soldiers loyal, danger must result. The danger was the greater because, as we have seen, in theory the Empire need not pass from father to son or from an emperor to his heir. Thus the death of an emperor might give the signal for competition; and if generals were ambitious, they might persuade their armies to support their claims to seize the position of Emperor. In other words, the Roman Empire was a one-man rule,

and the success of such a system must always depend largely on the qualities of the ruler.

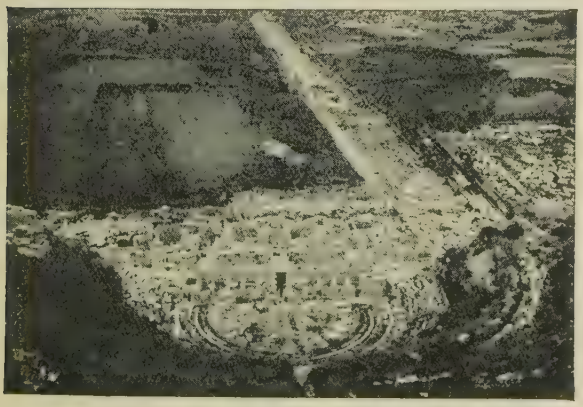
(2) The provinces and the towns in them could carry on their own local concerns, but they could not take any part in considering the general management of the Empire. Hence, in time, their interest in what happened to the Empire as a whole was bound to grow weak; all that they would really care for was the condition of affairs in their own neighbourhood.

(3) The failure of virtue and religion in Rome meant that the condition of society in the city became less and less healthy or worthy of respect. As time went on, the best Romans and Italians preferred to go and live in the provinces, where society was in a healthier state. Thus the Empire began to decay at the heart; an empire in such a condition cannot hope to hold together for very long.

The effects of these weaknesses did not show themselves at once. The framework of the Empire was so well constructed that it was long before it began to show signs of crumbling. But the weaknesses were present from the first. Such as it was, however, the Augustan system of empire had the supreme merit that it lasted for 200 years or more before it even began to give way. It did at last collapse before the invasions of the barbarians. But during those 200 years it had built up such a civilization in Europe that, when the barbarians came in, instead of being able to destroy it, they were forced to admire it and to learn from it.

In his own time the reign of Augustus seemed like the coming of a golden age. The poets Virgil and Horace sing of it as such. The whole world looked to Augustus as its one hope of peace and prosperity. He tells us that 'the Senate decreed that vows should be offered up on behalf of my health every fifth year'.

RESTORATION OF NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE
After Falize and Cordonnier



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS

HELLENISTIC ART

This might be merely slavish flattery on the part of the Senate. But when he adds 'the whole body of citizens, privately as individuals and publicly as municipalities, sacrificed without ceasing on behalf of my health at all the shrines', he gives us less questionable evidence of his popularity. Innumerable inscriptions from Italy and the provinces show beyond doubt how real and personal was the regard felt for him throughout the Empire, and how sincerely men acknowledged that on his rule depended all their hopes of being able to enjoy a civilized and peaceful existence.

The age of Augustus is the golden age of Roman poetry. This, therefore, is a suitable point at which to say something about Roman literature in general. The Romans were by nature practical rather than artistic; and for the first 500 years of their history they were too busy with war to have time for artistic interests. It was not till they began to come into touch with Greece, in the third century B.C., that Roman literature begins.

We must clearly realize that Greek art and learning did not come to an end with the age of Alexander. Though Hellas gradually decayed, Greek culture still flourished in the cities of Asia, in Rhodes, in Sicily, and especially in Alexandria, where one of the Egyptian kings founded a great library and museum. Much splendid Greek work comes from the fourth and third centuries B.C. The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (which King Mausolus built to the memory of his wife), the sarcophagi of Sidon (one of which has carved pictures of Alexander's battles), the altar of Pergamum, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus are magnificent specimens of 'Hellenistic' art; the statue of Victory that was erected at Samothrace (now in Paris) is one of the gems of Greek sculpture; and all these date from the ages after Alexander. In literature we have from the same

PART OF THE FRONT OF A SARCOPHAGUS AT SIDON
Alexander killing a Persian noble in battle

period the great names of Menander the comic poet, and Theocritus, who wrote 'idylls' or short poems about country life, which are among the most delightful things in Greek literature. The great age of Greek philosophy was past, but there were still men who thought and taught about great questions and guided people to think and act rightly; of these the Stoics and Epicureans are the best known. Above all, this is the great age of Greek science; and on such subjects as astronomy, medicine, mathematics, geometry, geography, and the study of literature work of great importance was being done by the learned men of Alexandria and elsewhere; nor did it cease even after Rome had conquered the Hellenistic world.

Thus when Rome began to know Greece she began to know a culture which was alive and active. Admiration for Greek things soon became the fashion in the more educated circles of Romans; and under this impulse Roman literature began to be written. The Romans themselves were fond of saying that they owed everything to Greek influence; and in a sense this is true; they borrowed the Greek forms in poetry and the Greek ideas in philosophy. But Roman poetry has nevertheless a flavour and a greatness that is its own and is not Greek. Even the early comedies of Plautus and Terence (written between 230 and 160 B.C.), though they are copied from Greek plays, are full of a life and spirit of their own. Lucretius (99–55) is the most Roman of all poets; he is not only a man of very great poetic genius, but his poem is also full of a grave dignity and of a deep moral earnestness which makes it one of the great religious poems of the world, none the less so because it is a tremendous attack on religious superstitions. Catullus (84–54) is among the best lyric poets of all ages. In Virgil and Horace, who lived in the

Augustan age, Roman poetry reaches its perfection. Virgil in his own time was the poet-laureate of the Augustan Empire; he is the master of a grave, sweet, stately music in language, and the best guide to a vision of what is best in the Roman character. The best poems of Horace are also inspired by Augustus' reforms, while many of his odes are a storehouse of common-sense views about life, expressed in quite perfect form. Beyond these men there are no names of first-class order. Ovid, who also wrote in Augustus' reign, is a great story-teller, and his verse is faultless in form; but he is not a real poet. Lucan (A. D. 39-65) spoils his poetry by rhetoric, i.e. by the desire to say fine things merely because they sound fine, without considering whether they ring true and sincere or not. The same is true of Juvenal (A. D. 67–147), who nevertheless wrote wonderful satires (attacks on vices and weaknesses of character) on Roman life, which have been the model for many satirists in later ages.

Latin prose was brought to its perfection by Caesar and Cicero. Caesar's history of his campaigns gives us the purest Latin ever written; his writings are as clear and simple as they are interesting; but of course they treat only of one kind of subject. In Cicero we find Latin applied with supreme skill to every variety of topic. His speeches are often very fine, and are reckoned by good judges as second only to Demosthenes. His works on philosophy are not deep, but they put Greek ideas into perfect Latin. His works on the art of speaking and on questions of morals (i.e. of right and wrong) are more original and interesting. But his most delightful writings are his private letters. We have over 800 of them, written to different people and on all sorts of occasions, important and unimportant. They were not written with a view to being published, so that

they give us a wonderfully lifelike and truthful picture of the man as he was, with all his faults and virtues, his strong points and his weaknesses ; we know him in consequence better than any other man of ancient times. He is the father and the model of all letter-writers of later ages ; his letters are not only perfect specimens of Latin, but the collection is also one of the most fascinating books ever written, and a priceless help to understanding the history of his time.

After Cicero the chief glories of Latin prose are in history. Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) wrote the history of Rome in 142 books, of which only 35 have survived, and Tacitus (A.D. 55–120), besides a fine biography of his father-in-law Agricola and an interesting description of Germany and the Germans in his own time, wrote several volumes about the history of Rome from Augustus' death to the year A.D. 96. Though neither of these writers is in the very first rank as a historian, both are quite first rate as writers. Livy is unfailingly interesting ; nobody can relate a story better ; and Tacitus is a wonderful painter of character and is a master of short crisp phrases which pack an extraordinary wealth of meaning into a few words.

Beyond these there are of course many other Roman writers, but none is of first-class quality. Roman literature, as compared with Greek, is poor in really great names. In many respects, especially in such subjects as philosophy and science, the chief work of Rome was to transmit and interpret Greek ideas to the world. But, by way of compensation, the Roman language has exerted an almost incalculable influence on the education of Europe. It is not so beautiful a tongue as Greek ; but no language (modern French is its nearest rival) has ever been equal to Latin as an instrument for the exact expression of meaning. In making it such Cicero had

the chief hand. Before his day Greek was the only language in which educated men could speak on learned subjects. After his day Latin took its place. For centuries it was throughout Europe (or at least western Europe) the common tongue of educated people. No man discussed learned topics except in Latin. Ambassadors and ministers of state carried on their business in Latin. The services of the Christian Church of the West were always said in Latin, as they still are in the Roman Catholic Church. And Latin is the basis of many modern languages of Europe, of, for instance, Italian, French, and Spanish, while a great deal of English is also derived from Latin. If the Greeks taught men to think truly and deeply, the Romans taught them to state their meaning clearly and accurately. The one gave the world the inspiration to thought, the other gave them the instrument of expression. Both gifts are quite indispensable for the development of a properly educated mind.

A DENARIUS OF HADRIAN
Head of Hadrian

IV. THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AUGUSTUS died in A. D. 14. He was followed by four Emperors of the 'Julian' line (so named after Julius Caesar), of whom Nero was the last. Nero's reign ended in a series of military rebellions. The generals of the armies in Spain, Germany, and the East one after another rose and claimed the throne. Within twelve months (68–69) Rome saw four Emperors in turn. The fourth of these, Vespasian, reigned for ten years (69–79), and was succeeded by his two sons, Titus (79–81) and Domitian (81–96); these are the 'Flavian' Emperors. Domitian was murdered, and his successor, Nerva, who was chosen by the Senate, only reigned two years. But, before he died, Nerva had adopted Trajan to be his successor; Trajan (98–117) adopted Hadrian; Hadrian (117–138) adopted Antoninus Pius; Antoninus (138–161) adopted Marcus Aurelius; and Aurelius (161–180) was succeeded by his son Commodus (180–192). For nearly 100 years, therefore, the succession was peaceable; and Vespasian and the first four of Nerva's successors are probably, after Augustus, the best and most able rulers that Rome ever had. After the reign of the worthless Commodus there follow 100 years in which the Emperors are set up, one after another, by this army or by that; most of them reign for only a short period, and are then got rid of by another revolting army with its claimant to support.

A PART OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

The scenes represent his campaigns on the Danube

Diocletian, who came in this way to the throne in A. D. 284, made a tremendous effort to reorganize the Empire and to restore discipline. But, when he voluntarily abdicated in 304, civil war again ensued. In 308 there were six rival Emperors at once. Constantine, who reigned 311–337, got rid of all rivals. But on his death more struggles followed ; in A. D. 364 the Empire was divided into two halves, each under its own Emperor; and this division continued in force till the end of the story.

The first 200 years of this period are the great age of the Roman Empire ; under the rule of the Flavians and their successors, the Roman world reached its highest point of happiness and prosperity. Vigorous and able government, energetic and successful defence of the frontiers, and the development of the arts of peace are the chief features of these two centuries. Roman art and architecture produced their finest works, and Roman Law was given a fixed and regular form.

In painting and sculpture the Romans were mainly content to imitate the Greeks. They either employed Greek artists or they copied Greek works of art ; and they did not improve on their models, nor in any way equal them. The only Roman works of sculpture which are really good are : (1) The portrait-statues and busts and tomb-figures of Emperors and others which were set up in Rome ; these are remarkable for their life-likeness and good workmanship. Good specimens of these are the equestrian statue of M. Aurelius and the monument of the Haterii at Rome. (2) The magnificent carvings of figures and scenes on the columns and arches which were erected as monuments of the Emperors' triumphs. The most famous of these are the arch of Titus, the column of Trajan, and the arch of Constantine at Rome, and the arch of Trajan at Benevento.

THE BRIDGE AT RIMINI
Photograph, Miss B. Burton-Brown

THE ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTO
Photograph, Mr. P. Hart

It is, however, in architecture that Rome won her greatest triumphs. Her finest achievements in this line are not temples, but buildings and other conveniences for the commonplace needs of men, such as dwelling-houses, roads, walls, baths, bridges, aqueducts (i.e. pipes bringing drinking-water to towns), reservoirs, dams, drains, and lighthouses; the Romans built also huge amphitheatres (i.e. a circular space with seats all round, like a modern circus) for the shows of gladiators and beast-fights, which were so popular with the common people under the Empire. In many parts of Europe there still remain the buildings that they constructed; such are the amphitheatres of Nismes or Arles in France, others in Italy and Sicily, and (largest of all) the great Flavian amphitheatre (the Coliseum) at Rome; the bridges of Merida or Rimini, the aqueducts of Segovia or the Pont du Gard near Nismes, the walls of the forum in Rome, Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian at Rome (a smaller Roman bath-house is to be seen at Bath), and remains of Roman houses in many places. One admires in these not only the size and magnificence of the larger buildings, but also the range of mechanical knowledge and technical skill which the builders must have possessed. Among all peoples of ancient times the Romans are the great builders. They discovered the use not only of glass windows but also of central heating for their houses. Their work in stone, brick, and concrete is so firm and solid that much of it still stands, undamaged by time. Above all, they faced the problem which the Greeks never had to face, viz. how to cover over a big empty floor-space, and in solving it they brought to perfection the rounded arch, the vaulted roof, and the dome. The Pantheon, built by Agrippa, still stands as a model of perfect dome-construction.

In other branches of science Rome only passed on

THE AMPHITHEATRE, ARLES

Greek knowledge. Caesar, it is true, made a real reform of the Roman calendar by adopting the Egyptian year of 365 days and the leap-year calculation, and Augustus carried out a survey of his whole Empire. But, as a scientist or a scientific writer, no Roman ever came more than barely into the second class; even so practical a science as medicine they left in the hands of Greeks. On the other hand, the Romans were the first people to devote pains and skill to draining their great cities and their houses by sewers, and to the care of public health; and they founded the hospital system by establishing infirmaries, first of all for their armies, and then for more general use in many towns. This system was greatly developed by the Christian Church from the fourth century onwards, and so passed into the life of modern Europe.

Rome's most important gift to the world is her system of Civil Law. Criminal Law, which fixes the punishment for crimes against the State (murder, theft, treason, &c.), varies in every age and nation according to men's feelings as to what is the best way of protecting society against the criminal desires of men; generally speaking, as nations become more civilized Criminal Law becomes less cruel and severe. Civil Law is that which makes regulations as to property, inheritance, trade, and citizen rights in general; and it is clear that the safety and comfort of ordinary decent life depends very largely on the way in which justice in ordinary business dealings between man and man is encouraged.

Roman Civil Law was the growth of time, and was developed by a succession of lawyers and magistrates, applying the decisions and rules of previous judges, and extending, modifying, or adapting them to new cases. By the end of the Republic this process had gone a long way, but the Civil Law was still in a rather vague and

THE AQUEDUCT, SEGOVIA

uncertain condition. Under Hadrian it was fixed in a regular form, and skilled lawyers were given the right to interpret its meaning. From that time on Roman Law was a recognized set of regulations. It continued to grow, partly by the work of lawyers who were called to give their opinions in difficult cases, and partly by the decisions of the supreme Court of Appeal, viz. the Emperor and his council. But this growth was only the development of regulations which already existed.

The great merits of Roman Law are its thoroughness, its respect for old customs and established rights, and its healthy notion of equitable dealing between man and man. The Romans had a strong dislike for fresh starts or new experiments in matters affecting the ordinary life of men. They felt that life must be unsafe and uncomfortable unless men knew what rights they could rely on. They also had a real respect for a man's claim to just treatment. The consequence was that they built up a system of Civil Law which was so wise, so fair, and so thorough that it is still the basis of Law in most European countries. Even nowadays all men who are studying to be lawyers have to begin by studying the principles of Roman Law.

We must now turn to consider how far and in what directions Augustus' system of government was developed or modified by the Emperors who succeeded him.

1. Little by little the power of the Emperor tends to become more absolute. Augustus had thought it wise to leave untouched a good deal of the forms of the old Republican system, and to allow a certain amount of power to remain in the hands of the Senate and magistrates. But as time went on the choice of magistrates and of new members for the Senate came more and more into the hands of the Emperor. For the most important duties in Rome and Italy new officers of state were

THE PANTHEON

created, appointed by the Emperor himself, with the title of *praefectus* (commander). There were, e.g., the prefects of the City, of the 'praetorian guards' (the troops which guarded the Emperor's person, like our Horse Guards), of the fleet, of the corn-market, of the fire-brigades. These officers became increasingly important, and the power of the old magistrates, consuls, praetors, &c., became steadily less. Hadrian formed a sort of Privy Council of great officials to act as his committee in governing the Empire. The beginnings of a Civil Service, which Augustus had made, led on to the establishment of a regular system of officials properly graded according to the importance of their work, in which all promotion depended on the Emperor alone. Diocletian at last perfected the system of one-man rule, and the magistrates and Senate of Rome were reduced to nothing more than a town council, like the councils of any other town. From top to bottom the government of the Empire was entirely carried on by the Emperor and the men whom he appointed.

2. Successive Emperors, Claudius and the Flavians especially, freely extended the possession of Roman citizen-rights to people in the provinces, and this process was completed by an edict of the Emperor Caracalla in A. D. 212, which conferred the Roman citizenship on all free men throughout the whole Empire; and this meant, too, that Roman Law became the law everywhere. In consequence, Rome and Italy became less important in the affairs of the Empire. Diocletian was the first man to treat Italy like any of the provinces, and to tax it; up to then Italy had been free of taxation. Finally Constantine, on the site of the ancient Byzantium, built the new city of Constantinople, which became in every respect more important than Rome; and the Emperors after him tended to live not at Rome, but at other places,

HADRIAN'S VILLA NEAR TIVOLI

Photograph, Mr. R. Gardner

such as Ravenna and Pavia. Rome did not become again a city of first-class standing in Europe until the Western Empire had fallen and the power of the Christian Popes of Rome once more revived the importance of the city.

3. The work of Romanizing the provinces went steadily on under the Julians and their successors. The best specimens of Roman citizens tended more and more to be found in the provinces and not in Italy. The trade and crafts and industries and schools of the provinces developed. But towards the end of the first 200 years of the Empire we see signs that the life of the provinces is becoming less healthy. The provincials copied not only the good things of Rome, but also its bad things; they built amphitheatres for the blood-thirsty amusement of gladiatorial shows. It gradually became difficult to find men to undertake the work of town government. The attachment of the provincials to the Empire also weakens. After A. D. 200 we find the provinces quite willing to accept as Emperor the nearest claimant to the position. They had no share in the government of the Empire, and so they did not care who governed them. Caesar-worship became a sham, and lost its influence. The stress of war and rebellions and invasions caused the burden of taxation to increase, and the responsibility of office in the provinces to become too dangerous. Under Diocletian and his successors an elaborate system of official spying on prominent men was established. We hear under Constantine of men becoming soldiers or even slaves in order to escape from having to serve on town councils and in town offices. Thus the state of the provinces began to grow worse, and the life of their towns to decay. The Empire became over-ripe and rotten.

4. All this did not show itself before the year 200.

THE CHEDWORTH VILLA, GLOS.

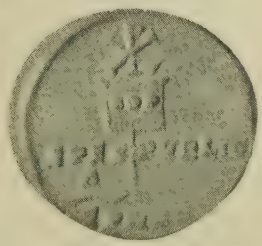
Reconstruction by Mr. A. Forestier; reproduced by permission of *The Illustrated London News*.

The great age and the great Emperors lasted till then. But after Aurelius the history of the Empire becomes a long and weary tale of military mutinies and of barbarian attacks. These two features are of course connected; as the Empire weakens, its enemies find it more tempting to attack; and, conversely, the attacks from outside weaken the Empire's power of resistance. But there is also a special cause for the frequency and ease with which Emperors were set up and removed, whether by the action of the praetorian guards, of the provincial armies, or (very seldom) of the Senate. This cause is the fact that, from the very start, the principle was never established that the throne should pass, as a matter of course, from father to son. Thus, at the death of any Emperor, the question of who was to succeed him was in theory an open question. The Julians tried to meet this difficulty by giving special honours to the men whom they wished to succeed them. Nerva and his successors tried the plan of adopting some one to share the work of government and to succeed the reigning Emperor, when the time came. Diocletian invented an elaborate arrangement, by which one man became his partner, receiving the supreme title of Augustus, while two others were given the title of Caesar and acted as seconds-in-command. At last the Empire was definitely divided into two separate halves, the Eastern and the Western. But the problem was never solved. The Empire was a one-man rule, relying on military power; and the throne from A.D. 200 onwards was always regarded as the prize for whoever was strong enough to seize it.

The consequence of military mutiny was that the defence of the frontiers gradually collapsed. Trajan, Hadrian, and Aurelius had made this defence their chief concern, and had spent most of their time with their

armies. Hadrian strengthened the frontiers by lines of forts and, in places, by continuous walls, like that which he built across Britain north of Carlisle to keep out the Picts and Scots. But after A. D. 200 the growing weakness of Rome and Italy tempted the armies and their generals to mutiny. This threw the Empire into disorder and weakened the armies intended to defend the provinces. Diocletian and Constantine tried to reduce the dangers of mutiny by dividing the governorship of the provinces, giving the task of government to one man and the command of the army to another. But this only led to jealousies between the two chief men in every province, and thus further weakened any resistance which might have been offered to outside attack.

Thus after A.D. 200 the age of invasion, both from the east and from the north, sets in; and from about A. D. 250 the Empire begins to totter. Some of the Emperors made tremendous efforts to stave off the danger and to steady the position; but their attempts were in fact desperate forlorn hopes. The decay was working outwards from the centre. The Empire was no longer strong enough to hold out the fresh and fierce vigour of the invaders. There is nothing more to relate of the history except the barbarian invasions and the downfall of Rome.



Coin of Constantine. Standard surmounted by the monogram of Christ

On the left is a coin of the reign of Augustus, stamped Var for Varus, the commander whose legions were annihilated in Germany; on the right, the back and front of a coin celebrating the recapture of the standards of Varus

V. THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS

The age of barbarian invasions is often called the age of the 'wandering of the nations'. Among the tribes of Central and Northern Europe, and—farther off—among the races of Russia and Central Asia, a period of greater restlessness than usual had now set in, which drove them to move in hordes to find new homes. They came pressing up against the tribes outside the Roman frontiers, and these in turn began to move in towards the more settled lands of the Roman Empire. These movements gather force like a river in flood. The story of them is terribly complicated. Tribes appear now here, now there, or split up into sections which go different ways. Now Gaul is attacked, now Spain, now Africa or Britain. But always, first or last, Rome and Italy suffers. In Italy was the nominal centre of the Empire, and its name drew the invaders irresistibly.

The first attack came in Aurelius' reign (A. D. 166), when the Marcomanni and other tribes broke in and overran the provinces on the Danube frontier. A severe war of thirteen years ended in their repulse. But, with the idea of making a peaceable settlement, Aurelius invited large numbers to come and live, as members of

the Empire, within the provinces which they had attacked. This was a very important example, which was constantly followed by later Emperors. It was

AN ITALIAN VIEW OF THE NORTHERN INVADER
From a mosaic found in a Roman villa in N. Africa

necessary, of course; the land on the frontier could not be left empty of inhabitants; to do that would only invite invasion. But it meant that henceforth more and more barbarians settled in the Empire. These would be the most vigorous of its citizens. The armies on the frontier would gradually come to consist largely of them.

As their numbers and their importance grew, their chiefs would become great men in the Empire. So the Empire, the Army, and the Court began to be 'barbarized'. The Empire at last gave way not merely to floods of barbarians from without, but to a growing force of barbarism within its own boundaries.

The Marcomannic attack was followed after A. D. 200 by the inroads of the Alemanni (236); the first attack of the Goths was made in the same year; the Franks appeared in 250. The Picts and Scots began to threaten Britain in the third century. The Vandal invasion began in 406. In 450 the Huns devastated Europe right up to Gaul, where they were at last defeated. Thus, wave after wave, a great ocean of invaders was breaking in on Italy and the Western Empire at all points.

The effort to meet them strained the Empire beyond bearing, especially as, in the East, it was almost always occupied with a war against the great kingdom of Parthia or Persia for the possession of Armenia. Italy fell rapidly into ruin. Italian trade came to an end. Plague and famine thinned the population. Large districts were left uninhabited. Still the invaders came on. In Gaul, in Spain, in Africa, they set up kingdoms of their own, which pretended to be provinces of the Empire only in so far as suited their own convenience. At last, in A. D. 476, a barbarian kingdom was set up in Italy itself; and the Western Empire ends. The year 500 sees Gothic kingdoms established in Spain and Italy, a Vandal kingdom in Africa, the Frankish kingdom of Clovis in Gaul, and a Saxon kingdom in Britain.

But, if the Western Empire ended, Western civilization did not. The barbarians destroyed much, but not everything. Except in Britain, where the traces of Rome were almost entirely blotted out, much of the old

Roman civilization (especially in Gaul) was allowed to remain, and was in time taken over and used, though in a modified form, by the new-comers. In particular, as the Empire weakened and fell, the Popes of Rome and the Christian Church stepped into its position, and became the protectors and preservers of civilization. By converting the barbarians to Christianity, the Church gained the right to educate them; and by undertaking the whole work of education, the Church was able to carry on Roman culture into the new age. For centuries, of all that the past could teach mankind, anything that was kept alive in Western Europe was only kept alive by the work of the Christian Church.

The Eastern Empire had a surprisingly long lease of life. Stretching from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, it was certainly much stronger and richer than its western sister. It is true that it had the constant trouble and expense of maintaining a war against Persia; and its northern provinces were ravaged in the fifth century by the Huns and Scythians. But under the Emperor Justinian (A. D. 527–565) it revived. Though attacked by Bulgarians and Slavonians and Lombards, it managed to keep them from Constantinople; and Justinian's great generals, Belisarius and Narses, conquered the Vandal kingdom in Africa and the Gothic kingdom in Italy. For 200 years a large part of Italy was a province of the Eastern Empire, ruled by a governor called the 'exarch of Ravenna'.

It was in Justinian's reign that the whole body of Roman Law was assembled in a vast collection known as the 'Institutes of Justinian'. In his reign also, and in the years immediately following it, 'Byzantine' architecture produced its best works, of which the great church of Santa Sophia (Holy Wisdom) at Constantinople is the most splendid specimen; it is a style of

architecture which uses the Roman form of building, with a dome, and enriches the walls with colour and mosaic or coloured-stone decoration.

A more severe danger came on the Empire with the rise of the Mohammedan Arabs (Mohammed lived A. D. 569–632), who conquered Persia and founded the Arab Empire of Bagdad, conquered Africa and Spain, cut off the Asiatic provinces of the Empire, and besieged Constantinople itself. But then divisions among the Arabs themselves caused their power to grow weaker, and the Asiatic provinces were partially regained. The Eastern Empire continued from A. D. 650–1100 to exist, though perpetually decaying in strength. It was constantly exposed to the ravages of Bulgarians, Hungarians, Russians, and Normans in turn, and gradually shrunk until little more was left to it in Europe than Constantinople and the district round it. It was an absolute monarchy of Oriental type; the Emperors were incessantly under the power of their favourites, and the jealousies of these favourites weakened the government. Besides its architecture and Justinian's Code of Law, the Eastern Empire produced nothing great. Its only other title to honour is that its learned men preserved and studied the works of the great Greek authors, and it was after the fall of Constantinople that the eastern scholars came westward, bringing their works with them, and so started the revival of Greek learning in Western Europe.

About the year A. D. 1050 the Turks arrived on the scene, coming from the regions south of the Caspian Sea, and conquered Asia. This led to the Crusades; and one effect of the Crusades was that the Crusaders captured Constantinople and set up there a Latin kingdom, which lasted from A. D. 1204 to 1261. The Eastern Empire then recovered its freedom, but not its

CONSTANTINOPLE: Mosque of Santa Sophia in the foreground

Photograph, Sir Aurel Stein

power. In 1300 a new wave of Turks, the Ottomans, threatened what was left of the Empire. They were checked for a time by the ravages of Timour, who burst out of Eastern Asia with his Mongols or Tartars in the years 1370 and onwards, and defeated the Ottoman Sultan in 1402. After his death and the removal of the Mongol danger, the Ottomans returned to the attack, and in A. D. 1453 they captured Constantinople, and put a final end to the Eastern Empire. It had, in fact, ended in all but name long before.

To complete the story of the Eastern Empire we have been led on far down into modern times. We must now return to trace briefly the history of the Christian Church which, as we have heard, took the place in the West of the old Empire. For 300 years Christianity was always liable to be, and often was, persecuted. Sometimes the mobs in towns would riot and ask for the Christians to be thrown to the lions in the amphitheatres. But sometimes the Emperors themselves would set on foot attempts to repress the Church. Rome, as has been said, allowed her subjects to practise their own national religions; she did not interfere with the Jewish religion. But Christianity was not the religion of a special nation. The Church looked like a sort of general society, and the Emperors were therefore suspicious of it; and since, when arrested, the Christians refused to sacrifice to the State gods or to the 'Genius' of the Emperor, they would be put to death as traitors and unpatriotic. So the Church had often to suffer times of great danger and persecution. And yet its numbers continued to grow, and its influence to spread. The Christians said that the Church grew *because* it was persecuted, and that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church'.

The Church offered to men that which, especially

from A. D. 200 onwards, the world most needed, namely: (1) a hope in life: everything seemed to be breaking to pieces, but Christianity told men of a loving God and a life beyond the grave; (2) a way of living which all

Believed to be the earliest painting of CHRIST. A second-century fresco from a subterranean chamber in Rome

By the courtesy of Professor M. Rostovtzeff

might follow: the Stoic philosophy had been only for the few, but Christianity taught that all men, whatever their class, ought to, and by Christ's spirit could, love and serve one another after His example; (3) a society to live in and to be a member of: the old Empire which had stood for centuries was now crumbling, but the Church seemed able to stand firm; in the new world of

wars and turmoil there was no general unity to be seen anywhere, except in the Church, which claimed to be above all divisions of race or nation. Thus Christianity gradually spread from one country to another, from one class to another, until at last Constantine established it as the official religion of the Empire, both in East and in West. Then its power grew, and the Bishops, especially of the great cities, like Rome in the West, and Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus in the East, became very important in the eyes of everybody.

In the eleventh century A. D. quarrels between the Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople led to the Church splitting into two halves, an Eastern and a Western. In the East the Church then came under the power of the State and became a sort of department of the Empire until that Empire fell. In consequence, its life decayed, and its influence for good diminished. The only great thing that the Eastern Church gave to modern Europe was its 'monastic' system. A great Eastern bishop, named Basil (who died A. D. 379), had founded monasteries where men and women could live altogether apart from worldly affairs, in study and prayer. This system became very important in the East, and it was copied and adopted in the West by Benedict (sixth century), who founded the 'Benedictine' order of monks; and, after that, monasteries arose everywhere in Western Europe, and did an immense amount of good.

In the West, because the Empire fell so much sooner, the Church was always able to preserve its independence, and the power of the Church and of the Popes of Rome grew very greatly; for a long time this power was both the strongest and the best influence in Europe. But then the Popes began to desire too much power and to claim authority in other than religious affairs. This

THE MONASTIC SYSTEM

Mass : Fifteenth Century

British Museum, Add. MSS. 16997

caused the division between Eastern and Western Christianity, while, in the West, the Popes were led into quarrels with kings and emperors ; and the Church, as a teacher of religion, suffered. The story of these quarrels is part of modern history, and we must not now enter upon it. But we can here note two points in conclusion of our history of Rome :

1. The Church owed very much to the Roman Empire. The Roman roads made it possible for it to spread quickly. The Greek philosophy which the Romans had preserved or handed on was used by the Church to help it to explain what it taught. The Roman system of law and government gave models for the Church to follow. Finally, the idea of the One Empire made men ready for the idea of the one universal ('Catholic') Church.

2. For hundreds of years it was the Church which did for Europe the great service of preserving and carrying on the civilization which Rome had learnt from Greece and had developed on her own lines. For centuries there was no education at all in Europe save that which the Church gave. Whether it was education in Church teaching, or in subjects like grammar, mathematics, logic, philosophy, and the rest, it was all given by the Church and by nobody or nothing else. All the schools, and all the Universities, were begun and carried on by the Church. This education, which the Church thus gave, was one which in most respects used as its groundwork the culture which was existing in the Roman world before Rome fell. So the Christian Church of the West carried on and continued the ancient civilization into the new age, and in this way civilization was not lost, but passed on into modern Europe. From what has been said in previous chapters, you must have gained some idea of how much we owe to that civilization. Let us

hear how a great modern scholar sums it up: 'Civilization, as we understand it, is of Greek origin, but it is of Latin substance. We think, and construct, and express ourselves in words and in acts, not like Greeks but like Romans. Our feet are set, wherever we go, on the roads laid down by Roman hands. In the field of letters, as in our political and social institutions, in the machinery of our trade and commerce and industry, in our systems of law and government, in our municipal or communal life, we inhabit, and adapt to our own needs and uses, the structure created for us by Rome.'

A UNIVERSITY LECTURE

British Museum, Royal MS. 17 E. III

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